

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

**Baltimore, November, 1901.**

*BEN JONSON'S INDEBTEDNESS TO  
THE GREEK CHARACTER-  
SKETCH.*

THE purpose of this article is to point out the indebtedness of Ben Jonson to the post-classical character-sketch.

This literary form has its origin in the *ἠθικοὶ χαρακτήρες*, or *Ethical Characters*, of Theophrastus.<sup>1</sup> These characters in the form in which they have come down to us consist of thirty-seven short sketches. In all of them the method of treatment is precisely the same and is simplicity itself. It consists in defining a quality and then proceeding to enumerate the actions to be expected, under given conditions, from a man embodying that quality.

Just how much Jonson owed directly to Theophrastus it is, of course, impossible to say. The most that can be affirmed positively is that he was familiar with the work of Theophrastus. This is proved by a comparison of passages like the following. The first of these is an entry in the diary of Sir Politick Would-be:<sup>2</sup>

"A rat had gnawn my spur-leathers, notwithstanding I put on new and did go forth; but first I threw three beans over the threshold."

Likewise Theophrastus says of the *Superstitious Man*:

"And if a weasel run across the road, he will not proceed till someone goes ahead of him; or until he has thrown three stones across the road."

Again in the first scene of the third act of the same play, Mosca speaks thus of flatterers :

"I mean not those that have your bare town art,  
 . . . . . nor those  
 With their court dog-tricks, that can fawn and f leer  
 Make their revenue out of legs and faces  
 Echo my lord, and lick away a moth."

This is evidently taken from the character of a flatterer in which Theophrastus says :

1 Born in Lesbos between 373 and 368 B. C., he was a pupil of Aristotle and afterwards became his successor as head of the Peripatetic School.

2 *Volpone*, Act, iv, sc, 1.

"And saying such things, he will pluck from the mantle (of his patron) a bit of wool; and if any speck of chaff has been blown by the wind upon his hair, he will pluck it off."

It is not mainly by direct adaptations, however, that Jonson shows most clearly the influence of Theophrastus. He was much too original a worker to content himself with mere borrowing. Hence we find him amusing himself by writing character sketches of his own, quite in the Theophrastic manner. To the list of *dramatis personæ* of two of his plays, *Every Man out of his Humour* and *The New Inn*, he affixed short "characters of the persons," which, because each of the persons is the embodiment of some "humour," are, except for their brevity, exactly like those of Theophrastus.

Yet it was neither in his borrowings nor even in his imitations of Theophrastus that Jonson shows most clearly his indebtedness to the Greek character-sketch. This appears most evident in the use he made of a certain dramatic character-sketch written by Libanius, the Greek sophist of Antioch.<sup>3</sup> This character-sketch appears in the fourth volume of Reiske's edition of the works of Libanius under the title "A rhetorical declamation" on the subject "A morose man, who has married a talkative wife, denounces himself." Jonson's literary discernment is no where better shown than in his selection of this particular character-sketch for dramatic treatment. For, in distinction from those of Theophrastus, it is thoroughly dramatic in the same sense and to the same degree that Browning's *Soliloquy in a Spanish Cloister* is dramatic. Both are dramatic monologues.

To show how closely Jonson followed his Greek original, I have placed side by side the

3 Libanius died near the end of the fourth century A. D. Classical and post-classical literature contain many examples of the writing of character-sketches—enough certainly to show that Theophrastus was not alone in his interest in it, that indeed the interest in character portrayal in and for itself is perennial and as universal as literature itself. Of these, the following are a few out of many that might be instanced: *Iliad*, Book xiii. lines 278 and following; Horace, Book i, *Satire ix*; Juvenal, *Satires viii* and *x*; Martial, Book iii, *Epigram on Cotilus*; *Auctor ad Herennium*, Book iv; Rutilius Rufus, *De Figuris Sententiarum et Elocutionis*, Book ii; Synesius, *Epistle civ.*

corresponding passages from the Greek character sketch and from the two plays, *The Silent Woman* and *Volpone*, in which Jonson made use of it.<sup>4</sup>

In the description of Morose given in the dialogue between Clerimont and Truewit in the first scene of the first act of *The Silent Woman*, Jonson develops certain suggestions of Libanius as will be shown by a comparison of the following passages.

Truewit,

"They say he has been upon divers treaties with the fish-wives and orange-women, and articles propounded between them: marry the chimney-sweepers will not be drawn in."

Clerimont adds,

"No, nor the broom-men: they stand out stiffly. He cannot endure a costard monger, he swoons if he hears one."

Truewit continues,

"Methinks a smith would be ominous."

Clerimont,

"Or any hammer man. A brazier is not suffered to dwell in the parish, nor an armourer."

All this is clearly an adaptation of the following lines from Libanius:

"Moreover, I flee precipitately from the anvils and the hammers and the uproar of the work-shops, from the shops of the silversmiths, from the forge of the worker in iron—many others. But I welcome those crafts which are carried on in silence. And, verily, I have even seen painters who sang while they worked—so delightful is it to citizens to chatter and they cannot restrain themselves."<sup>5</sup>

Clerimont goes on:

"He turned away a man last week for having a pair of new shoes that creaked. And this fellow waits on him now in tennis-court socks, or slippers soled with wool."

Libanius makes *Δύσκολος* say:

"As long as I lived alone, I enjoyed silence enough, having trained my household servants never to do anything that would annoy me."<sup>6</sup>

Clerimont has heard that Morose vows to marry a woman who lodges in the next street

"who is exceedingly soft-spoken; thrifty of her speech; that spends but six words a day."

<sup>4</sup> Since the writings of Libanius have never been translated, even into Latin, I am obliged to present my own, doubtless imperfect, translation.

<sup>5</sup> Page 136, l. 12-18.

<sup>6</sup> Page 136, l. 18-20.

This is taken from the recommendation given to *Δύσκολος*

"Be of good courage, he said, she has trained herself in nothing so much as this, for sooner would you accuse stones of loquacity than this girl: so that I fear, he said, lest the charge may be made against her that she is more silent than is necessary."<sup>7</sup>

The suggestion for the first scene of the second act, in which Morose appears and asks his servant many questions, each of which is answered only by signs, was doubtless also the single line from Libanius in which *Δύσκολος* is made to say:

"Having trained my household servants never to do anything that would annoy me."<sup>8</sup>

It is to be observed that Epiccene begins to reveal her true character much sooner than does the silent woman in Libanius, for she remonstrates with Morose about sending away the parson,<sup>9</sup> whereas her prototype does not begin to talk till after the marriage is performed.<sup>10</sup>

When the wedding guests come in, headed by Daw with the Collegiate Ladies, Morose utters an exclamation of horror.

"O the sea breaks in upon me."<sup>11</sup> Another flood, an inundation! I shall be overwhelmed with noise."

This is evidently an echo of Libanius.

"Just as the sea overwhelms a ship, so the woman's tongue overwhelms me."<sup>12</sup>

The third act ends in a frightful uproar of drums, trumpets and the shouts of the guests, in the midst of which Morose runs out with a howl of disgust. This also seems to have been suggested by Libanius in the following passage, in which *Δύσκολος* describes his own wedding.

"For there was no moderation. There was a great clatter, violent laughter, unseemly dancing, a senseless wedding song . . . so that I was tempted to tear off my garland and run from the wedding."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Page 137, l. 6-9. <sup>8</sup> Page 136, l. 19. <sup>9</sup> Act iii, sc. 2.

<sup>10</sup> But this, in comparison with the coming conflict, was unbroken peace. For before midnight, a voice was heard complaining of the bed. Later she asked me if I was asleep . . . a third time she asked something, and a fourth. Page 137, l. 21-26.

<sup>11</sup> Act iii, sc. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Page 142, l. 22-23.

<sup>13</sup> Page 137, l. 12-18.

Truewit, commenting upon the tumult, says:

"The spitting, the coughing, the laughter, the neezing, . . . the dancing, noise of the music, . . . makes him think he has married a fury."

Here he uses the same expression as *Δύσκολος*, who speaks of his wife as *ταύτην τὴν ἔριννον*.<sup>14</sup>

In the second scene of the fourth act, Morose, accompanied by Dauphine, enters, cursing the barber who had been the promoter of the marriage. In this passage Jonson seems to have had in mind the following lines:

"I await a cessation of the chattering, lamenting and cursing marriage, and him who first mentioned the woman to me."<sup>15</sup>

What follows is also from Libanius. Epiccene approaches Morose, saying:

"You are not well, sir; you look very ill: something has distempered you."

Such questions are among the grievances of *Δύσκολος* also. He says:

"But if she notices the groan, she assails me, asking, 'What goes amiss with you within?'"<sup>16</sup>

Truewit adds fuel to the flame of Morose's anger at what he regards as a senseless question, by affirming that these are "but notes of female kindness; certain tokens that she has a voice." This is almost an exact rendering of the consolation which *Δύσκολος* says he received under like circumstances.

"Verily, he said, this is a sign of love and a certain indication, at the same time, that she has a voice."<sup>17</sup>

Truewit considerably offers to entreat Epiccene to hold her peace, but Morose interposes with the despairing cry:

"O no, labor not to stop her. She is like a conduit pipe, that will gush out with more force when she opens again."

The comparison is taken from the speech of *Δύσκολος* where he says:

"For just as those inspectors of water-courses, when they take away the dike, make the flood worse . . ."<sup>18</sup>

Finally they decide that Morose is mad and Epiccene says compassionately,

<sup>14</sup> P. 137, l. 14-15.

<sup>15</sup> P. 140, l. 14-16.

<sup>17</sup> P. 138, l. 4-5.

<sup>16</sup> P. 140, l. 16-18.

<sup>18</sup> P. 146, l. 23-24.

"Sure he would do well enough if he could sleep."

To this Morose retorts,

"No I should do well enough if you could sleep. Have I no friend that will make her drunk, or give her a little laudanum or opium?"

The corresponding passage is,

"My wife is not drunk. Yet is this a terrible thing? For if she were drunk, she would sleep, and if she slept, she would perhaps be silent."<sup>19</sup>

Truewit continues the torture by replying,

"Why she talks ten times worse in her sleep."

Morose,

"How!"

Clerimont,

"Do you not know that, sir? Never ceases all night."

This, too, is from Libanius,

"But when she has exhausted every topic by the rush of her speech—the affairs of our own household, those of our neighbors and still nothing new appears, she tells me her dreams, inventing them, by the gods, as it seems to me, for she never sleeps, but often spends the night in talking."<sup>20</sup>

Both *Δύσκολος* and Morose canvass the possibilities of getting a divorce. The former rejects the project, preferring to die by a decree of the senate. Because into the senate chamber, while such a matter was under consideration, a woman might not enter, whereas she would have access to a court of justice granting a divorce.<sup>21</sup> Morose, on the contrary, welcomes the suggestion of an interview with a lawyer. It is interesting to observe that the caution of *Δύσκολος* is fully vindicated by the experience of Morose, for in the midst of his consultation with the pretended lawyer and parson, Epiccene enters, rampant. Yet before this, even in his attempt to see a lawyer, Morose has difficulty, as shown by his reply to Dauphine's solicitous inquiry whether he has yet seen a lawyer.

<sup>19</sup> P. 143, l. 8-10.

<sup>20</sup> P. 141, l. 11-16.

<sup>21</sup> For it is illegal for her to be present with those discussing a matter of life and death in the council. But if this were a divorce trial, and if it were necessary to explain to the judges in what way I am wronged, the court would be common to her and to me. Page 147, l. 14-18.



"O no!" he says, "there is such a noise in the court that they have frightened me home with more violence than I went. Such speaking and counter-speaking with their several voices of citations, appellations, allegations, certificates, attachments, interrogatories, references, convictions and afflictions indeed among the doctors and proctors, that the noise here is silence to 't, a kind of calm midnight."<sup>22</sup>

The speech is adapted from the following:

"I do not frequent the Assembly much, not because I am indifferent to matters affecting the common weal, but because of the shouts of the rhetoricians who cannot be silent. Nor am I accustomed to frequent the Agora, on account of those many names of legal processes, as *φάσις*, *ἐνδείξις*, *ἀπαγωγή*, *διαδικασία*, *γραφὴ*, *παραγραφή*, which they who have no business before the courts love to name. So-and-so has accused so-and-so of such and such things. What is this to you, who are neither prosecutor nor defendant."<sup>23</sup>

When Truewit brings in the pretended lawyer and parson, Morose refuses to salute them, giving as his reasons the following:

"Salute them! I had rather do anything than wear out time so unfruitfully, sir. I wonder how these common forms as *God save you*, and *You are welcome* are come to be a habit in our lives; or *I am glad to see you!* When I cannot see what the profit can be of these words, so long as it is no whit better with him whose affairs are sad and grievous, that he hears this salutation."<sup>24</sup>

This is a free rendering of the following lines:

"Verily I think we ought to drive out from the Agora this form of salutation which consists of greeting one with the word, Hail! a custom which has come into our life I know not whence. For I, by the gods, do not see the profit of the expression, since I have not heard that he whose circumstances were such as to call for grief was benefited by the salutation."<sup>25</sup>

A little farther on, Morose interrupts the wrangling of the pseudo-parson and lawyer to give some account of his former way of life.

"Nay good gentlemen," he says, "do not throw me into circumstances. Let your comforts arrive quickly at me, those that are. Be swift in affording me my peace, if so I shall hope any. I love not your court tumults. And that it be not strange to you, I will tell you: my father, in my education was wont to advise

me that I should always collect and retain my mind, not suffering it to flow loosely; that I should look to what things were necessary to the carriage of my life, and what not; embracing the one and eschewing the other: in short that I should endear myself to rest and avoid turmoil; which now is grown to another nature to me. So that I come not to your public pleadings, or your places of noise; not that I neglect those things that make for the dignity of the commonwealth, but for the mere avoiding of clamors and impertinences of orators that know not how to be silent."<sup>26</sup>

*Διόκολος* says:

"My father, O Council, ever exhorted me to collect (*συνάγειν*) my mind and to keep it concentrated (*συνέχειν*) and not to allow it to wander (*διαχεῖσθαι*), to discern what things are essential in life and what not, and to hold fast to the one and to keep away from the other, to honor peace, to fly from tumults. These things, O Council, I have continued to do, not going often to the meetings of the Assembly, and this not through indifference to the commonweal, but because of the voices of the rhetoricians, who cannot be silent."<sup>27</sup>

Jonson seems to have been much interested in this character-sketch, for we find him using it again in another of his comedies—*Volpone*. In the second scene of the third act, Volpone, feigning illness, is visited by the loquacious Lady Politick Would-be. On seeing her enter, Volpone's first ejaculation is borrowed from Libanius:

Volpone's words are,

"The storm comes toward me."

The Greek is,

"But I tremble, seeing another flood (*ῥέθυμα*) coming toward me."<sup>28</sup>

Lady Politick has the habit of telling her dreams, a habit which ~~Morose~~ detests. When she starts to relate one of her dreams, ~~Morose~~ Volpone interrupts her with the words

"O, if you do love me  
No more: I sweat and suffer at the mention  
Of any dream."

The wife of *Διόκολος* tried his patience in the same way, for we read:

"But when she has exhausted every topic by the rush of her speech . . . and nothing yet appears, she tells me her dreams, inventing them . . . as it seems to me, for she never sleeps."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Act iv, sc. 2.

<sup>23</sup> P. 135, l. 26-p. 136, l. 7. The Greek words have no exact equivalents in English.

<sup>24</sup> Act v, sc. 1.

<sup>25</sup> P. 136, l. 7-12.

<sup>26</sup> Act v, sc. 1.

<sup>28</sup> P. 141, l. 11-15.

<sup>27</sup> P. 135, l. 21-p. 136, l. 2.

<sup>29</sup> P. 141, l. 11-15.



and again,

"I could not endure a talking dream."<sup>30</sup>

Interesting as an evidence of Jonson's learning, is his putting into the mouth of Volpone a reference to a saying of Archilochus, of which Jonson undoubtedly was reminded by a passage in Libanius.

Volpone says:

"Ah me I have ta'en a grasshopper by the wing."

The line which Jonson had in mind from Archilochus is,

τέττιγα πτεροῦ εἰληφας

The passage by which Jonson was reminded of this is as follows:

"It is fitting, I said to her, that you imitate the customs of the cicadas (*τεττιγῶν*) of whom only the male sings. Even he is annoying because he sings too much, but if the female sang too, you could not hear. But she, cutting in and taking the cue, said, 'These are the best cicadas, the friends of the muses, to whom talking is sweeter than to eat.'"<sup>31</sup>

Volpone, weary of her chatter, tries to silence her by remarking

"The poet . . .  
As old in time as Plato, and as knowing,  
Says that your highest female grace is silence."

This, too, is from Libanius:

"If you will not listen to me, I said, have regard to the wisest poet when he says:"

O woman, silence adorns women.<sup>32</sup>

Lady Politick, unabashed, takes the cue:

"Which of your poets? Plutarch, or Tasso, or Dante? Guarini? Ariosto? Aretine? Cicco di Hadria, I have read them all."

So of the wife of *Δύσκολος* it is said,

"But she said at once 'And who is this poet, and who was his father, and of what district was he, and when did he begin to write and how did he die?'"<sup>33</sup>

And again,

"But the mention of the chorus leaders causes her to speak of tragedies. Thereupon she pours forth a torrent of words relative to those who invented tragedy, mentioning also those who brought them out and in what manner the literary form grew and what each man contributed."<sup>34</sup>

30 P. 137, l. 5.

31 P. 146, l. 9-14.

32 P. 145, l. 31. Libanius quoted the line from the *Ajax* of Sophocles, line 293.

33 P. 146, l. 5-6.

34 P. 141, l. 1-6.

"Alas," exclaims Volpone, "my mind's perturbed."

So *Δύσκολος*,

"I am not master of my mind. I suffer from dizziness, I suffer from vertigo."<sup>35</sup>

When Mosca enters, Volpone appeals to him for help,

"Oh,  
Rid me of this torture, quickly, there,  
My madam with the everlasting voice  
. . . . . such a hail of words  
She has let fall."

The appeal of *Δύσκολος* to the senate is similar,

"Defend me for the sake of the gods, relieve me from the everlasting voice (*φωνῆς ἀπαύστου*) . . .<sup>36</sup> often struck as with hail (*χαλάζῃ*) I faint away."<sup>37</sup>

While Jonson's use of the Greek character-sketch is interesting as an instance of his indebtedness to the classics, its chief significance lies in the evidence thus afforded of the close relation that might exist between the drama and the character-sketch. This kinship Jonson was the first to recognize.<sup>38</sup> That he recognized it so readily was due in part to the analytic and expository quality of his mind, which led him to be interested more in the type than in the individual, and more in the exhibition than in the development of character. He saw that in spite of their apparently wide dissimilarity, the real difference between these two literary forms was mainly one of method in the character presentation. The drama presents character in action. The character-sketch portrays character in what may be called, with due apology, its static relations. The former, by means of the counterplay of action upon action, makes the characters reveal themselves. The latter by setting forth the qualities or peculiarities which differentiate a type, shows characters fixed, statuesque, sepa-

35 P. 142, l. 23-24. 36 P. 141, l. 23. 37 P. 143, l. 18-20.

38 La Bruyère in the preface to his *Caractères, ou Les Mœurs de ce Siècle* (1688), speaking of Theophrastus says;

"Les savans, faisant attention à la diversité des mœurs qui y font traités, et à la manière naïve dont tous les caractères y sont exprimés; et la comparant d'ailleurs avec celle du poëte Ménandre, disciple de Theophraste, et qui servit ensuite de modèle à Terence, qu'on a dans nos jours si heureusement imité, ne peuvent s'empêcher de reconnaître dans ce petit ouvrage la première source de tout le comique." Page 5, edition of 1750.

rate from all that could lend them human interest. As a result of such limitations, the character-sketch was too often but a featureless and pale picture. It resembled the imaginary portraits that sprinkle the pages of such books as Lavater's,<sup>39</sup> in which every feature, eyes, ears, lips, brow, mouth are made to bear the same stamp.

Yet with all its manifest inferiority to the drama as a vital form of character presentation, the English character-sketch continued exerting more and more influence upon the drama as time went on. After Jonson's death the drama rapidly declined, while with equal rapidity the character-sketch became the most prolific literary form of the seventeenth century.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, its popularity continued even into the following century. During all this time its influence upon the drama is observable. Jonson's experiment in adapting the Greek character-sketch to dramatic treatment was repeated by later dramatists, who used the English character-sketch in the same way. Thus Goldsmith, to mention but a single instance, made one of Doctor Jonson's character-sketches<sup>41</sup> the basis of the character of Croaker in his *Good-Natured Man* (acted 1768).<sup>42</sup>

It is impossible, within the limits of this article, to speak further concerning the significance of the influence exerted upon Ben Jonson

39 Johann Caspar Lavater, founder of the pseudo-science of Physiognomy, and author of the *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1775-78). The popularity in the eighteenth century of such books as this of Lavater was probably due, at least in part, to the interest in types of character aroused in the preceding century by such phrenological character-books as *A Brief Discourse Concerning the Different Wits of Men* by Walter Charleton, 1669.

40 The *Ethical Characters* of Theophrastus, popularized by Casaubon's Latin translation in 1592, furnished a model of which English writers were not slow to avail themselves. I find titles of over one hundred and fifty character-books published within the century.

41 This was *Suspirius, the human Screech-owl*, a character-sketch which appeared in the *Rambler* for October 9th, 1750.

42 In the *Life of Jonson*, chapter xvii, Boswell says that the Doctor pronounced *The Good-Natured Man*

"to be the best comedy that had appeared since the *Provoked Husband*, and declared that there had not been of late any such character exhibited on the stage as that of Croaker. I observed, Boswell adds, it was the *Suspirius* of his *Rambler*. He said Goldsmith had owned he had borrowed it from thence."

by the Greek character-sketch. If it has been pointed out with sufficient clearness that such an influence actually was exerted, the purpose of the writer has been attained.

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#### JOSEPH TEXTE.<sup>1</sup>

PROBABLY from no other young author was France expecting so much as from J. Texte. Within the last few years of his life he had become known as the leading authority in France on outside literary relations. It is true, M. Texte was the pupil of M. Brunetière, but far excelled his master, by concentrating all his forces upon one study, comparative literature.

Joseph Texte was born in Paris in 1865, and belonged to one of the best families; his father was professor of history in the Collège Rollin and author of a *Histoire Moderne*; he died early, leaving young Texte and his mother alone, a sister having died shortly before. The young boy studied at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand, taking the Prix d'Honneur de rhétorique, and in 1883 was admitted to the École Normale. He was of a most amiable and kind disposition, and soon won the respect of his teachers and his associates. He became especially known through his exceptionally strong moral character, a trait noticeable in all his writings through that earnestness of purpose, high moral tone and seriousness, not always characteristic of the modern French writers. Texte was an incessant worker and soon undermined his health. His judgments were always accurate and conservative, with possibly one exception; in his study of Elizabeth Browning he ventures to proclaim Aurora Leigh the great poem of the century; this is one of the few subjects in which he lost himself completely, forgetting his role of critic. In 1886, having failed à l'*agrégation des lettres*, he was sent to the Lycée de Rochefort-sur-Mer. Discouraged and in despair he found great consolation in his teachers, MM. Perrot

<sup>1</sup> The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mme. J. Texte and M. René Durand, maître de conférence à l'École Normale Supérieure, for information otherwise unobtainable.

and Brunetière, especially the latter, to whom he acknowledges his indebtedness by a most fitting tribute in his *J. J. Rousseau*. Up to his death he considered M. Brunetière his most helpful and suggestive intellectual adviser. At the end of 1886 he was sent to Oxford, and there began work on a subject—*Les Puritains*—the conflict of the Puritan spirit and French and Italian influences, the variations of the Protestant idea in its attitude toward art. This he abandoned later on. On his return to France he was put in charge of English at the École Normale and École du Génie Maritime; from 1889-91 he taught rhetoric at Poitiers.

M. Texte first became known to the public by a series of articles in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, made possible by his friend M. Brunetière. Shortly after this he received an appointment to teach French literature at the University of Lyons. During these next years, 1890-92, he was toiling incessantly on the work which was to make him famous. In 1890 he wrote:

"Je crois à l'avenir de la littérature comparée et de la littérature européenne. Nous sommes las des autobiographies et monographies. Le cosmopolitisme est devenu l'un des traits de tout esprit puissant à la fin du XIX s."

Texte considered cosmopolitanism to be the liberation of the traditional cult of the French spirit for antiquity, the protest in the name of modern literatures against Classical influences. The unity of letters and the fraternity of peoples were his dream and his faith. One law underlies this great movement of ideas—*restar soi-même et pourtant s'unir aux autres*—is the problem for each man and each nation. Every literature passes through a period of concentration and expansion, and this accounts for all changes in literature. Upon this principle his writings are based, all dealing with one subject—the influences of literatures upon each other and their interrelations.

In his first work, *J. J. Rousseau*, etc., he endeavors to place himself as historian, seeking and explaining the birth and manners of the development of literary ideas through countries. In his second book, *Études de Litt. Europ.*, he endeavors to give examples of literary cosmopolitanism at work as a vital force, illustrating how, according to his ideas,

this force ought to be observed, studied and treated.

In it he proves that cosmopolitanism, or internationalism, is a logical outgrowth of comparative criticism and that it will create a European literature in the future; that is, an international literary ideal. France has been late in coming to this study because: 1. it held too tenaciously to the antique; 2. of her scant knowledge of foreign languages; 3. of her organic inaptitude.

The literary historian can no longer neglect the synthetic point of view: the study of one literature by and in itself belongs to the past. This idea is undoubtedly taken from M. Brunetière, who as early as 1890 maintained that the particular history of literatures must be subordinated to the general history of literature of Europe.

M. Texte, in his comprehensive studies of modern literatures, has excelled his master, M. Brunetière, for he is the first man in France to apply the method, principles and theories advanced by M. Brunetière in his *L'Histoire des genres litt.*, 1890, in a practical way to literatures outside of the French, and to the interrelations and interinfluences of modern literatures. These studies have been successful in the main, with two possible exceptions, two studies that are hardly in harmony with the work as a whole—*Keats et le néohellénisme dans la poésie anglaise* and *Elizabeth Browning et l'idéalisme contemp.* It must be remembered, however, that this work was still experimental, not definitive.

His three articles in Petit de Julleville's *Hist. de la Litt. Fran.* (cf Bibliog.) are beyond doubt his best work and show better than any other his complete, comprehensive and systematic control of the method and spirit of comparative literature. These articles, published in book form and made accessible to students of literature in general, would be of inestimable value.

In 1896 the University of Lyons founded a chair of comparative literature for him. In 1897-98 he had charge of French literature in the École Normale. The Sorbonne called him to deliver a course of lectures on comparative literature, and was about to call him permanently to Paris when the fatal illness



overtaken him. He struggled for more than a year, and in 1899, after having planned and practically gathered all his material for a book on Voltaire, he had to undergo a most dangerous operation. In September, 1900, he returned to his old home in Berikon en Argovie, where he regained his strength only to fall seriously ill upon his return to Lyons, and after untold suffering he died there in July, 1900.

Joseph Texte to-day, through his work thus far published, stands out as the first great scholar of France in the field of comparative literature. For him the first chair of comparative literature was founded at the University of Lyons, and just before his death a similar chair was to be created at the Sorbonne, and, as there has been no worthy successor of Joseph Texte thus far, this has not yet been realized.

As a critic M. Texte belonged to no school of criticism; in all his articles of review there is found no trace of dogmatism, no sign of hostility. His reviews in a few words give the merit and contents of the works, the remainder is devoted to a discussion of works that have not been consulted, and of lines not touched upon. As far as is known to the writer he was never involved in but one discussion or controversy; this was an answer to a most unfair and rather ridiculous review of his *J. J. Rousseau* by M. Souriau (cf. Bibliog.) The objections offered by Souriau were that M. Texte knew England better than France; that he accepted second-hand information; that he had too many preferences and even prejudices; too little sympathy for the eighteenth century; that he did not like the Revolution because he did not know it through documents or serious study; that he hardly knew the books he cited; that he dwelt too long on such an obscure writer as Muralt.—“It is better,” he said, “to get a little new information on a great writer than to reveal a minor writer;” that every writer has a country and ought to stick to it, and that M. Texte would be better off in a chair of English than French literature. These criticisms M. Texte took up in a reply—*A propos de J. J. Rousseau*; later on he found occasion to square the account in a review of M. Souriau’s work *La Préface de Cromwell*.

Unquestionably the best and fairest review of *J. J. Rousseau* is by L. P. Betz (cf. Bibliog.), who is one of the greatest living authorities on comparative literature in Europe, and hence was able to appreciate the significance and bearing of M. Texte’s book. A very appreciative and scholarly article appeared in *MOD. LANG. NOTES* by Mr. Wells in 1896. For the spirit and essence, method and breadth of Joseph Texte’s work no better example can be found than his articles in *Petit de Julleville*.

As a teacher he was most helpful and inspiring. The principle he held before his students was: *s’intéresser au sujet plus qu’au parti qu’on en peut tirer*. A most glowing tribute from one of his students is to be found printed in the *Notice Nécrol.* (cf. Bibl.), pp. 127–128.

As an educator he held no mean position, having written several important articles on modern education. M. Texte was in favor of a modern education, but was not so radical as M. Jules Lemaitre, following more the ideas of M. Brunetière. He believed that Latin was essential to an education, with English and German; that is, Classical and European. The writer and the public must have a better knowledge of national and European works than of those of antiquity. The hereditary qualities of a race must be preserved; France must maintain a contact between the thought of France and that of the world, for this is an age of free exchange of ideas among nations. The social or universal elements characteristic of French literature must be preserved, and this can only be done by making the future ideal, in substance, that of the Classical ideal, for as M. Brunetière has so well said, the most original part of Classical works is the impossibility of separating from them that which is properly and purely French, from that element in them which is universal. Thus M. Joseph Texte was what may be called a progressive-conservative.

France in the last decade has lost two most promising young men in Émile Hennequin and Joseph Texte, both in their thirties, and both already with an international reputation based on conscientious, serious and broad study.

## PUBLICATIONS OF J. TEXTE.

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e. Les relations litt. de la France avec l'Allemagne avant le milieu du xviii. S.

f. Klopstock, Wieland et Lessing en France au xviii. S.

g. Le théâtre de Schiller et de Goethe en France au xviii. S.

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#### PARADISE LOST vii. 364-366.

THIS passage,

Hither, as to their fountains, other stars  
 Repairing, in their golden urns draw light,  
 And hence the morning planet gilds her horns,

has received but scant illustration at the hands of the commentators. Newton remarks that

the sun is called *fons luminis* by Lucretius (5.281), with which Munro (on the passage) compares v. 293, while on 'golden urns' Stillingfleet quotes Aristophanes, *Clouds* 271, where, however, the expression is used literally. The general thought, apart from the imagery, is better illustrated by Manilius, *Astron.* 2. 8-11, where the poet is referring to Homer as the source of later poetry:

Cujus de gurgite vivo  
 Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit,  
 Amnemque in tenues ausa est deducere rivos,  
 Unius secunda bonis.

Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3. 9. 25-6.

Yet, after all, it must be admitted that these lines correspond better with the figurative sense in which the first two of the Miltonic lines are sometimes employed, and that they have no application to the third. The third, in fact, seems of a different order from the other two. 'In their golden urns draw light' is mythological in conception, while the following line, though still poetical, seems more precise. The 'her,' substituted in the second edition for 'his,' can only refer to Venus. 'Horns,' in this metaphorical sense, is applied by ancient writers only to the moon: thus *νεπαία*, Aratus 732, 777, 779, 784, 787, 789, 793, 799; Cic. *Fragm.* ap. Nonius, p. 122.2; Varro in Plin. 8. 79; Avienus 121; Virgil, *Georg.* 1.433; *Æn.* 3.645; Ovid, *Mét.* 1.11; 2.117, 344, 453; 3.682; 7.179; 10.296, 479; cf. 9.689, 784; 12.264. Shakespeare limits its application in the same way: *M. N. D.* 244, 246; *Cor.* 4. 6. 44; *Ant.* 4. 12. 45. Even Milton himself in other passages restricts himself to the ancient use: *P. L.* 1. 439; 4. 978; 10. 433. Hence it is not a little remarkable that he here makes an exception in assigning horns to Venus, while affirming that she draws her light from the sun. But the explanation is easily found if we remember that the phases of Venus, already predicted by Copernicus nearly three quarters of a century before, were discovered by Galileo in 1610. It was Galileo then, as we shall see, who first spoke of the horns of Venus as an observed phenomenon; it was Galileo who first saw its 'extremely slender horns' as morning star; and it was Galileo who, in one of the letters in which he announced his discovery at the very close of the year 1610, announced that the



planets—but not the fixed stars—were dark in themselves, and borrowed their light wholly from the sun. Moreover, Galileo expressly compares the form of Venus with that of the moon, first of all in the famous anagram of December 11, 1610, with its two meaningless letters at the end:

*Haec immatura a me jam frustra leguntur o y,*

which, according to his own later interpretation becomes

*Cynthiæ figuras æmulatur Mater amorum.*<sup>1</sup>

The intrinsic interest of the letters in which Galileo announces this discovery, the fact that they are not easily accessible in compends (the first is even sometimes said to be addressed to Kepler), and the literal correspondence with some of Milton's phrases, must be my excuse for printing them at such length. I know not where one can see a more fascinating exhibition of science in the making. I quote the letters in the Florence edition of 1842-56 (the italics are of course mine, save for the anagram and its solution).

The first is a letter from Galileo to Giuliano de' Medici, Ambassador from the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the Emperor Rudolph II at Prague, dated Florence, December 11, 1610 (*Opere* 6. 128):

'Intanto mando la cifra di un altro particolare osservato da me nuovamente, il quale si tira dietro la decisione di grandissime controversie in Astronomia, ed in particolare contiene in sè un gagliardo argomento per la costituzione dell'Universo, e a suo tempo pubblicherò in decifrazione, ed altri particolari. Frattanto le lettere trasposte sono queste:

*Haec immatura a me jam frustr leguntur o y.*

The second is from Galileo to Father Cristoforo Clavio at Rome, dated Florence, December 30, 1610 (*Opere* 6. 130-1):

'Intanto non voglio celare a V. R. quello che ho osservato in Venere da tre mesi in qua. Sappia dunque, come nel principio della sua apparizione vespertina la cominciai ad osservare, e la vidi di figura rotonda, ma piccolissima; continuando poi le osservazioni venne crescendo in mode notabilmente, e pur man-

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this paper, I find that Orchard, *The Astronomy of Paradise Lost*, p. 133, has given the same explanation of this line, but apparently without direct knowledge of Galileo's writings.

tenendosi circolare, sin che avvicinandosi alla massima digressione cominciò a diminuir dalla rotondità nella parte avversa al Sole, e in pochi giorni si ridusse alla figura semicircolare, nella qual figura si è mantenuta un pezzo, cioè sino che ha cominciato a ritirarsi verso il Sole, allontanandosi pian piano dalla tangente; ora comincia a farsi notabilmente *cornicolata*, e così anderà assottigliandosi sin che si vedrà vespertina; e a suo tempo la vedremo *mattutina*, con le sue *cornicelle sottilissime* e avverse al Sole, le quali intorno alla massima digressione faranno mezzo cerchio, il quale manterranno inalterato per molti giorni. Passerà poi Venere dal mezzo cerchio al tutto tondo prestissimo, e poi per molti mesi la vedremo così interamente circolare, ma piccolina, sì che il suo diametro non sarà la sesta parte di quello che apparisce adesso. Io ho modo di vederla così netta, così schietta, così terminata, *come veggiamo l'istessa Luna* con l'occhio naturale; e la veggio adesso di diametro eguale al semidiametro della Luna veduta colla vista semplice. Ora eccoci, Signor mio, chiariti come Venere (e indubitamente farà l'istesso Mercurio) va intorno al Sole, centro senza alcun dubbio delle massime rivoluzioni di tutti i pianeti; *inoltre siamo certi come essi pianeti sono per sè tenebrosi, e solo risplendono illustrati dal Sole (il che non credo che occorra delle fisse per alcune mie osservazioni)*, e come questo sistema dei pianeti sta sicuramente in altra maniera di quello che si è comunemente tenuto.'

The third is a letter to Father Benedetto Castelli at Brescia, dated the same day, December 30, 1610 (*Opere* 6. 134-5):

'Sappia dunque che io, circa tre mesi fa, cominciai ad osservar Venere collo strumento, e la vidi di figura rotonda, ed assai piccola; andò di giorno in giorno crescendo in mole, e mantenendopure la medesima rotondità, finchè finalmente venendo in assai gran lontananza da Sole cominciò a scemare della rotondità dalla parte orientale, ed in pochi giorni si ridusse al mezzo cerchio. In tal figura si è mantenuta molti giorni, ma però crescendo tuttavia in mole; ora comincia a farci *falcata*, e finchè si vedrà vespertina, anderà scemando le sue *cornicelle* fin tanto che svanirà; ma ritornando poi *mattutina* si vedrà *colle corna sottilissime*, e puro avverse al Sole, e anderà crescendo verso il mezzo cerchio sino alla sua massima digressione. Manterrassi poi semicircolare per alquanti giorni, diminuendo però in mole; e poi dal mezzo cerchio passerà al tutto tondo in pochi giorni, e quindi per molti mesi si vedrà, e *Lucifero* e *Vesperugo*, tutta tonda, ma piccoletta di mole. Le evidentissime conseguenze, che di qui si traggono, sono a V. R. notissime. . . Ma Venere la vedo così spedita e terminata *quanto l'istessa Luna*, mostran-

domela l'occhiale di diametro eguale al semidiametro di essa Luna veduta coll' occhio naturale.'

The fourth and last is a letter to Giuliano de' Medici, dated January 1, 1611:

'E tempo che io deciferi a V. S. Illustriss. e Reverendiss., e per lei al Sig. Keplero, le lettere trasposte, le quali alcune settimane sono le inviai; é tempo, dico, giacchè sono interamente chiaro della verità del fatto, sicchè non ci resta un minimo scrupolo o dubbio. Sappanno dunque come, circa a tre mesi fa, vedendosi Venere vespertina, la cominciai ad osservare diligentemente coll' occhiale, per veder col senso stesso quello di che non dubitava punto l'intelletto. La vidi dunque sul principio di figura rotonda, pulita, e terminata, ma molto piccola; di tal figura si mantenne sin che comincio ad avvicinarsi alla sua massima digressione, ma tra tanto andò crescendo in mole. Comincio poi a mancare dalla rotondità nella sua parte orientale, ed avversa al Sole, e in pochi giorni si ridusse ad esser un mezzo cerchio perfettissimo, e tale si mantenne, senza punto alterarsi, finchè incominciò a ritirarsi verso il Sole, allontanandosi dalla tangente. Ora va calando dal mezzo cerchio, e si mostra *cornicolata*, e andrà assottigliandosi sino all' occultazione, riducendosi allora con *corna sottilissime*: quindi *passando all'apparizione mattutina, la vedremo pur falcata e sottilissima. e colle corna avverse al Sole*; andrà poi crescendo fino alla massima digressione, dove apparirà semicircolare, e tale senza alterarsi si manterrà molti giorni, e poi dal mezzo cerchio passerà presto al tutto tondo, e così rotondo si conserverà poi per molti mesi. Il suo diametro adesso è circa cinque volte maggiore di quello che si mostrava nella sua prima apparizione vespertina; dalla quale mirabile esperienza abbiamo sensata e certa dimostrazione di due gran questioni state fin qui dubbie tra i maggiori ingegni del mondo. L'una è che *i pianeti tutti son di lor natura tenebrosi (accadendo anco a Mercurio l'istesso che a Venere)*; l'altra, che Venere necessariamente si volge intorno al Sole, come anco Mercurio; cosa che degli altri pianeti fu creduta da' Pitagorici, dal Copernico, dal Keplero, e da' loro seguaci, ma non sensatamente provata, come ora in Venere ed in Mercurio. Averanno dunque il Sig. Keplero e gli altri Copernicani da gloriarsi di aver creduto e filosofato bene, sebbene ci è toccato, e ci è per toccare ancora, ad esser reputati dall' università dei filosofi *in libris* per poco intendenti, e poco meno che stolti. Le parole, dunque, che mandai trasposte, e che dicevano

*Hæc immatura a me jam frustra leguntur o y,*  
dicono ordinate

*Cynthia figuræ æmulatur Mater amorum*  
(Venere imita le figure della Luna).'

In reading the parenthesis referring to Mercury, one may be tempted to think that Milton used 'his' advisedly in the first edition; but this is hardly probable.

In considering the probability, apart from the internal evidence, that he often had Galileo's utterances in mind, we may recall Milton's statement in the *Areopagitica*:

'There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought;'

the lines (261-3) from the Fifth Book of *Paradise Lost*:

As when by night the glass  
Of Galileo, less assured, observes  
Imagined lands and regions in the moon;

the lines from the First Book (287-291):

The moon, whose orb  
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views  
At evening from the top of Fesole,  
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,  
Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe;

those from the Third Book (588-590):

There lands the fiend, a spot like which perhaps  
Astronomer in the sun's lucent orb  
Through his glazed optic tube yet never saw;

and those from *Paradise Regained* (4. 40-42).

It was not till the year 1609 that Galileo heard of the principle according to which he immediately constructed a telescope magnifying three diameters, a power which he quickly brought to thirty-three diameters; and it was early in the next year, the same in which he published his discoveries of the phases of Venus, that he made known the mountainous configuration of the moon's surface. Milton, who knew the one fact, and had probably gathered it from Galileo's own lips in conversation, may well have learned the other at the same time. If so, he no doubt ascertained that Galileo's theory of borrowed light applied only to the planet, and not to the fixed stars; hence 'stars,' l. 364, would mean 'planets.'

One might think that Milton would have been familiar with Galileo's discovery before his Italian journey, but this was not the case, if we may assume *Lycidas* 168-171, following Jerram, to apply to the morning star, and may trust its negative evidence. There we have:

So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,  
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,  
And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore  
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky,

the original of which Jerram assumes to have been *Æn.* 8. 589 ff. compared with Homer, *Il.* 5. 5-6. No more scientific is *Comus* 93-4:

The star that bids the shepherd fold  
Now the top of heaven doth hold.

The same is true of *Lycidas* 30-31:

Oft till the star that rose at evening bright  
Toward heaven's descent had sloped his westering wheel.

On this last passage Jerram says:

'He was far more likely to have erred in company with the ancients than to have corrected their mistakes by the light of modern discovery.'

However this may have been in his earlier manhood, our present study may tend to show that it is not unqualifiedly true of his riper years. An intimation to the same effect seems to be conveyed by the word 'circlet' in *P. L.* 5. 166-9:

Fairest of stars, last in the train of night,  
If better thou belong not to the dawn,  
Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling morn  
With thy bright circlet, praise him in thy sphere.

This seems to denote the rotundity observed by Galileo, and would hardly have occurred in the Latin period.

As the general sense of the last line came from Italy, so did also the peculiar meaning of the verb 'gild.' Shakespeare seems to have been the first English author to use the word in this way, referring to the sun. Thus we have (*Rich. II.* 1. 3. 146-7):

And those his golden beams to you here lent  
Shall point on me and gild my banishment.

Again (*Sonn.* 33. 3-4):

Kissing with golden face the meadows green,  
Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy;

with which may be compared *M. N. D.* 3. 2. 391-3:

Even till the eastern gate, all fiery-red,  
Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,  
Turns into yellow gold his salt green streams.

Other examples are *T. G.* 5. 1. 1; *Hen. V.* 4. 2. 1; *Hen. VIII.* 3. 2. 411; *Tit. Andron.* 2. 1. 6; *Sonn.* 28. 12; cf. *Sonn.* 18. 6; *Lucr.* 25; *L. L. L.* 4. 3. 26; etc., etc. This sense of 'gild' is appropriated by Milton in *P. L.* 3.559, besides our passage, and perhaps in *Comus* 95; *P. R.* 4.53; cf. *P. L.* 3.572,625; 5.187. Chaucer (*Book of the Duchesse* 338) has the sun shining 'with many glade gilden stremes' where 'gilden' of course means 'golden,' and not 'gilded.'

The Italians thus use *indorare* and *aurare* (chiefly as *aurato*). Instances of *aurato* (cf. *aureo*) as early as Shakespeare are: Petrarca, *Sonn.* 187.1: 'Quando 'l sol bagna in mar l' *aurato carro*'; the same phrase Rinaldi, *Rime*, Venice, 1608, p. 191, and Baldi (1553-1617), *Naut.* 29; Baldi also has (68): 'Esce l' aurora, e con l' *aurato lume* Fuga dal ciel le mattutine Stelle;' (104): 'E già l' *aurata fronte* Discopria Febo mattutino,' Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 15.47 (suggests the Miltonic line): 'Il sol, dell' *aurea luce* eterno fonte.' Similarly of *indorare*: Firenzuola (his *Apuleio* first published Florence, 1549), *Opere* 3.25 (Milan, 1802), in his *Apuleio*: 'I raggi del Sole, spuntando per le cime de' più alti monti, cominciavano a *indorar* la campagna;' Matteo Francesi, *Rime Burlesche* (1555): 'E il sole appena gli alti monti *indora*;' Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 9.62: 'S'indorava la notte al divin lume;' and finally, nearest to Milton, Grazzini (Il Lasca, d. 1584), *Nanea* (authorship somewhat doubtful) 1.4 (*Mt.*): 'All'ora Che Febo del monton le corna *indora*.'

The French come later. Fénelon, *Télémaque* 3, has: 'Les rayons du soleil *doraient* le sommet des montagnes;' and elsewhere, 1. 21, p. 337: 'Dès que l'aurore vint *dorer* l'horizon;' Littré cites two other instances from Lamartine. Wakefield (*Observations on Pope*, 1796, p. 298), has noticed that Pope, *Dunciad* 2. 11-12, imitates Milton:

So from the sun's broad beams in shallow urns  
Heaven's twinkling sparks draw light, and point their horns.

He justly adds that the twinkling sparks, evidently the fixed stars, have no horns.

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THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND  
GERMAN LITERATURE.

I (Continued).

LUDWIG MEYER VON KNONAU, the Swiss patriot (1769-1841), also relates<sup>63</sup> his first impressions of the American Revolution:

"Noch erinnere ich mich deutlich, dass die nordamerikanische Sache, Franklin, Washington und andre Männer, die sich hervorthaten, Teilnahme für sich erregten, und dass ich das Verfahren des britischen Kabinettes misbilligen hörte, allein auf mein kindisches Gemüt hatte ein besonderer Umstand einen entscheidenden Einfluss, der auf ein paar Jahre hin mich ganz an Grossbritanniens Sache fesselte. Ein schönes Blatt Schreibpapier von meinen Eltern geschenkt zu bekommen, war für mich eine grosse Freude. Als nun die Nachricht eintraf, das Volk habe zu Boston das Stempelpapier verbrannt, und vollends noch ein Kupferstich anschaulich darstellte, wie ganze Ballen dieses Papiers auf öffentlichem Platze verbrannt, und mit Gabeln und Feuerschäufeln gerüttelt wurden, so dass die brennenden Bogen in die Höhe flogen, war meine Stimmung entschieden. Leute, die solche Massen des von mir geliebten Papiers frohlockend zerstörten, hatten mich zum erklären Gegner, und ich blieb ein solcher, bis allmählig der Ruf, den sich die Amerikaner erwarben, das Interesse, welches Franklin, ebenso Lafayette und seine Notstreiter erregten, vornehmlich aber die Rührung, welche die dem englischen Golde geopfert und auf den amerikanischen Kriegsschauplatz hingeführten Hessen und andre Deutsche hervorbrachten und dadurch die britische Sache gehässig machten, mich allmählig umstimmten. Lange hatte mich auch die Abneigung gegen die englische Opposition auf die königliche Seite hingezogen."

What has been stated so far might easily lead us to think that German public opinion was unanimous on the question of the American Revolution. Nothing could be further from the truth. It would be strange, indeed, if Germany, so much divided in politics, religion and social conditions, had been a unit on this question. The Germans at that time hardly formed a nation, certainly not in a political sense; there were no common national interests, no national instincts. International questions were looked upon and discussed from the point of view of the individual. Schlözer at Göttingen stands out most prom-

<sup>63</sup> *Lebenserinnerungen*, ed. Gerold Meyer v. Knonau, Frauenfeld, 1883, p. 10.

inently as an opponent of the American Revolution, but he had not a few followers who were as sincere, if not as energetic, in their condemnation of the Americans. W. L. Wekhrlin, the erratic Swabian journalist, but withal a friend of liberty, says in his *Chronologien* (vol. i):

"Die Amerikaner sind Rasende, welche bei heller Sonne mit der Fackel in der Hand umherrennen, den Tag zu suchen."<sup>64</sup>

In another place he says:

"Die Amerikaner jagen einem Schatten nach. Es wird eine Zeit kommen, wo sie Grossbritannien beneiden werden. Nordamerika, ein Polyphem ohne Auge, schickt sich an, der Despotie das Fundament zu bereiten."<sup>65</sup>

This prophecy was destined to prove false, but other prophecies of Wekhrlin's, which have come true, show that he possessed remarkable political insight.

Häberlin, the famous professor of law at the University of Helmstedt, a champion of free political views, defended in his *Staatsrecht* the right of the German princes to dispose of their troops by treaties.<sup>66</sup>

J. G. Sulzer, the writer on æsthetics, a free Swiss living in the capital of Frederick the Great, writes to his fellow-countryman Zimmermann at Hanover (Jan. 19, 1777):

"Schon der amerikanische Krieg muss England höchst beschwerlich fallen. Es ärgert mich über alle Massen, den alten Franklin, für den ich sonst eine unumschränkte Hochachtung gehabt, unter den Häuptern dieses auf-rührerischen Volkes zu erblicken. Es bestärkt mich immer mehr in meiner traurigen Beobachtung, dass auch die grössten Seelen unbegreiflichen Verblendungen unterworfen sind und dass der höchste und seltenste Grad der menschlichen Tugend darin bestehe, dass man gegen sich selbst, gegen seine Freunde und gegen die Partei, zu der man sich hält, unparteiisch sei."<sup>67</sup>

Zimmermann replies (Feb. 22, 1777): "*Den allen Franklin soll man nie für einen guten Mann gehalten haben.*"<sup>68</sup> And that is the same

<sup>64</sup> Quoted by Biedermann in *Zt. f. dtsh. Kulturgeschichte*, 1858, p. 492.

<sup>65</sup> Ebeling, *W. L. Wekhrlin*, Berlin 1869, p. 67. In his *Physiognomische Fragmente* (*ibid.*, p. 407 f.) Wekhrlin mentions Washington and Pitt as having blond hair.

<sup>66</sup> Biedermann, *l. c.*, p. 492.

<sup>67</sup> Bodemann, *J. G. Zimmermann*, Hannover 1878, p. 261.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 262.

man who in his book on Solitude speaks so highly of Franklin's intellectual and literary attainments. Zimmermann's sympathies were altogether on the side of England. In 1780 (March 28) he writes to a friend:

"Mein Gott, wie kommen Sie auf den Gedanken dass es England kein rechter Ernst sei, gegen Frankreich, Spanien und den amerikanischen Kongress mit Nachdruck zu agieren? . . . Indessen ist anitz Englands Schicksal wieder in einer fürchterlichen Krisis. Was Amerika betrifft, kommt itzt alles auf die Einnahme von Charlestown an. Wenn diese gelingt, so müssen sich die Amerikaner, die ganz ruiniert sind, zu billigen Bedingungen verstehen. Auch sind anitz amerikanische Agenten in London, die der Kongress abgeschickt hat, um zu sehen, ob man sich verstehen könne. Die Amerikaner schmachten unter einer entsetzlichen Schuldenlast, daher ist das Volk äusserst unwillig. Gelingt es mit Charlestown, so ist dies ein Stoss, der sie niederwirft. Alsdann wird mit einer Provinz nach der andern, und nicht mit allen zugleich in Unterhandlung einlassen (sic!) und auf diese Art auch besser zum Zwecke kommen. Aber wenn Clinton vor Charlestown unglücklich wäre, welches auch sehr leicht möglich ist, so kommt England wieder in Not. . . Wenn nur die Engländer mit den Amerikanern sich abfinden, und mit ihrer ganzen Macht auf Frankreich und Spanien fallen können, so geht alles so gut, als man es nach der gegenwärtigen Lage der Sachen wünschen kann; und das gebe Gott!<sup>69</sup>

The celebrated Swiss historian Johannes von Müller looked upon England's defeat with much regret. He writes to his friend Gleim (Dec. 9, 1781):

"Bei dem Unglück des vortrefflichen Cornwallis habe ich bewundert, wie genau die gleichen Sitten und Massregeln, die (nach Demosthenes) Athen verdorben, England stürzen. Ich kann mich nicht auf alle einlassen, aber dünkt nicht auch Sie, dass der Verfall der wahren Religion, die bei allen Völkern unter mancherlei Gestalten war, die Folge hervorbringen muss, dass diejenigen, welche den Tod für das Ende von allem halten, um Staat und Nachwelt nichts mehr wagen, und in allem nur sich und nur diese Minute des Daseins betrachten? Daher die allgemeine Erschlaffung, die unentscheidenden Treffen."<sup>70</sup>

In another letter (July 19, 1781) Müller at-

<sup>69</sup> Rengger, *J. G. Zimmermann, Briefe*, Aarau 1830, p. 269.

<sup>70</sup> Körte, *Briefe zwischen Gleim, Heinse und Joh. v. Müller*, Zürich 1806, II, 304.

tributes England's defeat to the decline of "*der alten englischen Tugend*."<sup>71</sup>

Friedrich Köppen (1775-1858), professor of philosophy at Landshut and Erlangen, tells of boyish feuds about the American cause.<sup>72</sup>

"Während meiner Knabenjahre pflegten rauf-lustige Schüler unter den Parteinamen der Amerikaner und Engländer mit einander zu kämpfen, um den Sieg dieser beiden Völker zu entscheiden. Ich kann versichern, dass es lebhaft zugeht, dass man Reden hielt, dass Lord Elliot, Rodney, Washington, in aller Mund waren, obwohl schwerlich ein Kämpfer die Zeitung gelesen oder in den Schulstunden davon gehört."

It is only natural to suppose that the boys who fought for the English cause had taken their cue from their parents and other grown-up persons around them.

Bodmer, the veteran poet and critic at Zürich, felt called upon to defend the Americans against their calumniators. He writes (in an undated letter of 1775 or 1776):

"Die Unterdrückten selbst halten meinen Brutus, Timoleon (the heroes of some of Bodmer's dramas), etc., für Rebellen. Und halten nicht unsere modernen Republikaner, die Engländer, die Holländer, die Schweizer die amerikanischen Kolonisten für todesschuldige Verbrecher—und warum?"<sup>73</sup>

In this connection attention might be called to a letter of Joh. von Müller written in 1781 in which a somewhat different view is expressed; Müller is urged by his friends to translate his *Schweizergeschichte*:

"hiez zu sei der Augenblick, bei diesmaliger Begeisterung für Bundesrepubliken; Frankreich, Holland und Amerika würden es begierig lesen."<sup>74</sup>

Hamann, "the father of the Storm and Stress," an enemy of despotism and oppression,<sup>75</sup> seems to have taken little interest in American affairs. At least we must infer that from a letter to J. F. Reichardt, dated Königsberg, June 17, 1782:<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 234.

<sup>72</sup> *Vertraute Briefe über Bücher und Welt*, Leipzig 1823, II, 19.

<sup>73</sup> Josephine Zehnder, *Pestalozzi*, Gotha, 1875, I, 562.

<sup>74</sup> Körte, *Briefe zwischen Gleim, Heinse und Joh. v. Müller*, Zürich, 1806, II, 271.

<sup>75</sup> Gildemeister, *Joh. Geo. Hamann*, Gotha, 1875, IV, 205 f.

<sup>76</sup> *Schriften*, ed. Fr. Roth, Berlin, 1821-25, VI, 256.

"Ich lief ohne recht zu wissen warum in den Buchladen. Wollte eben so unruhig wieder forteilen, als man mir eine Neuigkeit anbot über Nordamerika und Demokratie. Das erste ist ganz gleichgültig für mich, und das zweite hatte auch nicht viel Reiz."

In 1785, however, Hamann shows some interest in American affairs. He reads Mirabeau's work entitled *Considérations sur l'Ordre de Cincinnati ou Imitation d'un Pamphlet Anglo-Américain*. He writes in regard to it:

"Das englische Pamphlet ist im vorigen Jahre zu Philadelphia auskommen unter dem Namen eines Andreas Burke, der zuerst über die Errichtung des neu errichteten Ordens Lärm geblasen, der als ein erblicher Adel oder Patriotat das ganze demokratische Gebäude zu Grunde gerichtet haben würde."<sup>77</sup>

Lenz's sympathies, if we may draw a conclusion from his works, seem to have been anything but American. In *Der Waldbruder* the hero, Herz, wishes to join the Hessians against the Colonials. That he calls a

"Sprung auf die erste Staffel der Leiter der Ehre und des Glücks, der Himmelsleiter, auf der ich alle meine Wünsche zu ersteigen hoffe."<sup>78</sup>

Throughout the story there is not the least intimation that the Hessians fight in an unrighteous cause. Herz looks upon the Hessian service merely as a short road to success in life. But Herz, as has been clearly shown, is none other than Lenz himself.<sup>79</sup> In *Die Laube*, too, the hero sets out to fight against the Americans. It is not an unfair inference, therefore, to say that Lenz, the *Stürmer und Dränger*, looked upon the American struggle for freedom with the utmost indifference, and he may actually have thought of enlisting with the Hessians.

Anton Reiser, the hero of Moritz's well-known novel, while in Hanover, is called upon to deliver an oration on Queen Charlotte's birthday. On this occasion he reads an ode written by himself containing the following lines:

Georg!—rauscht

Harfen! tönt Jubelgesang von ganzen beglückten Nationen laut!—Und verstumme mein Lied! Denn vergebens

<sup>77</sup> Gildemeister, *Hamann*, iii, 156, 235.

<sup>78</sup> *Lenz und Wagner*, ed. Sauer, *D. N. L.*, v. 80, p. 193.

<sup>79</sup> Sauer, *I. c.*, p. 175 n.; Gruppe, *R. Lenz*, Berlin, 1861, p. 164.

Wagst du's, sein Lob, Georgens Lob zu erschwingen.

Sicher in den Stürmen, die seinen Scheitel umdonnern  
Steht Georg.—Wenn Völker toben—Doch du getreues  
Volk deinem König, verhülle nur dein Antlitz, und weine!  
Siehe nicht wie dein Bruder im fernen Lande sich auflehnt  
Gegen seinen König . . . . .<sup>80</sup>

It is only natural that the people of Hanover should have sympathized with the English government. Joh. D. Michaelis, the Göttingen professor mentioned above, allowed his son to join the Hessian troops as surgeon. His daughter Caroline writes (1778) in regard to this:

"die Bedingungen sind sehr vorteilhaft, und wenn er wieder zurückkömmt, so ist ihm eine Versorgung auf Lebenszeit gewiss."<sup>81</sup>

In 1782 Caroline accompanies Madame Schlözer to Cassel, where the latter expected to meet her husband.

"Im Hinweg wohnten wir auch in Münden einem merkwürdigen, aber traurigen Schauspiel bei, der Einschiffung der Truppen nach Amerika. Welch eine allgemeine, mannigfaltige, grausame Abschiedsszene. Was sie mir vorzüglich war, das lässt sich begreifen. . . . Der Gedanke machte mich unwillig, dass der Landgraf in Münden Menschen verkaufte, um in Cassel Paläste zu bauen."<sup>82</sup>

Later on in the letter she refers to the Hessian sovereign in the following complimentary way: "*ich sah mit allem Respekt gesprochen, das Vieh den Landgrafen.*" But Caroline went back to Göttingen in the company of the same Schlözer who defended the British cause with all the energy of conviction and called the Americans the most ungrateful of rebels.

Schlözer's statistical journal, entitled *A. L. Schlözer's Briefwechsel meist statistischen Inhalts* was begun in July, 1774, and continued until Feb., 1775.<sup>83</sup> In 1776 (Feb.) it was started again with the title *A. L. Schlözer's Briefwechsel, meist historischen und politischen Inhalts*. This continuation is often referred to as *Neuer Briefwechsel*. From 1782 until 1793, when it was discontinued, the paper was called *A. L. Schlözer's Staatsanzeigen*. In this journal Schlözer gave free expression to his

<sup>80</sup> K. Ph. Moritz, *Anton Reiser*, Berlin 1786, iii, 131, 146.

<sup>81</sup> Waitz, *Caroline*, Leipzig, 1871, i, 4.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 311.

<sup>83</sup> Frensdorff in *A. D. B.*, v. 31, p. 584.



views on American affairs. His attitude in this matter was perfectly sincere. Some of his contemporaries thought that he was truckling to the authorities at Hanover, but that is highly improbable considering the bold stand he took on other occasions, especially in 1789, when he hailed the French revolution as the dawn of a new era. Frensdorff and Biedermann have shown clearly that Schlözer's condemnation of the American cause was perfectly consistent with his political views, advanced as they were, and with his ideas of popular liberty. It is interesting to know that Schlözer had met Franklin during the latter's stay in Göttingen (1766).<sup>84</sup> Moreover, Schlözer's journal was a constant protest against misgovernment and abuse of power not only in foreign countries, but in every part of the German Empire. Though the professors at Göttingen enjoyed freedom from press censorship, Schlözer fully realized that, in spite of this privilege, his journal might be suppressed at any moment, but even that could not intimidate him. The journal was actually suspended in 1793, by order of the Hanoverian government. His work in the interest of political liberty was early recognized. No less a man than Wilh. von Humboldt says of him in a letter to Joach. H. Campe: "*Schlözer, der um Publicität und politische Freiheit so viel Verdienst hat.*"<sup>85</sup>

Schlözer attacked the Americans in the lecture-room as well as in his journal. The physicist Sömmering, then a student at Göttingen, reports:

"Schlözer lese mit ausserordentlichem Applaus und zeige, dass die nordamerikanischen Kolonien die undankbarsten Rebellen seien."<sup>86</sup>

When the poem *Die Freiheit Amerikas* appeared in the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, Schlözer suggested the reading "*der edle Kampf für Hancock und Contreband*" instead of "*für Freiheit und Vaterland.*" In his *Jan von Leiden* he changed the line to "*der edle*

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Frensdorff, *A. D. B.* 31, 584 ff.; Biedermann, *Zt. f. dtsch. Kulturgeschichte*, 1858, pp. 491 ff., *Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* iv, 1194; Schlosser, *Geschichte des 18. Jh.*, Heidelberg, 1864, iv, 227, 229, 245, 247, where Schlözer's weak sides are brought out.

<sup>85</sup> Leyser, *Joach. H. Campe*, Braunschweig, 1877, ii, 308.

<sup>86</sup> R. Wagner, *Sam. Th. von Sömmering*, Leipzig, 1844, ii, 15.

*Kampf für Freiheit und Schneider Jan.*"<sup>87</sup> Schlözer's position on the American Revolution was attacked by the geographer Büsching<sup>88</sup> and by G. Mauvillon, professor at the Carolinum in Cassel in a *Sammlung von Aufsätzen über Gegenstände aus der Staatskunst, Staatswirtschaft, etc.*, Leipzig, 1776. Schlözer's genuine interest in America may also be seen from the fact that he edited a German translation of Fenning and Collyer's work on America.<sup>89</sup>

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#### CURRENT NOTES IN PHONETICS.

THE Vice-President for the Section of Physiology of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Prof. John G. M'Kendrick, opened the session at Glasgow on Sept. 11, with an address on experimental phonetics. One day of the meeting was set aside for the presentation of phonetic papers.

A recent number of the *Bulletin des Parlers Normands* contains further Calvados dialect notes by M. de Guer, a poem in the dialect of Caux, a dialogue in the dialect of Méry-Corbon, additions and corrections to the glossary of that of Bessin, the first portion of Section A of a lexicon of that of La Villette (Calvados), a poem in that of Verson, a specimen of that of Audrieu (Calvados).

At the Paris Exposition Mr. Poulsen of Copenhagen exhibited a new speech-recording instrument termed the telegraphone. An ordinary microphone transmitter is connected through any length of wire to a small electromagnet whose poles are adjusted close to a steel wire or steel tape. While the telephone message is arriving, the magnet is run along over the wire or tape. The magnet is then attached to an ordinary telephone receiver; upon running it again over the wire or tape the sound is heard in a high degree of perfection. The magnetic impulses from the magnet received from the transmitter probably produce some rearrangement of molecules in the steel

<sup>87</sup> Frensdorff, *l. c.* p., 587. <sup>88</sup> Schlosser, *l. c.*, iv, 245.

<sup>89</sup> *Neue Erdbeschreibung von ganz Amerika. Nebst einem Anhang vom 5. Welttheile.* Aus dem Englischen des D. Fenning und G. Collyer. Herausgegeben von A. L. Schlözer, Göttingen und Leipzig, 1777.

and thereby give a record which can be used to produce magnetic impulses again. The instrument is intended to record speech just as the telegraph tape records movements of a finger. The permanency of the telegraphophone record still leaves something to be desired; the attendant at Paris said the records could not be relied upon to last more than two years. Its importance to phonetics lies in the truth and purity of the record made and in the simplicity of manipulation. The Edison phonograph is still the only available method of collecting speech records, but in many respects it is far from satisfactory.

Systematic collections of phonograms are preserved by the American Museum of Natural History in New York, by the Vienna Academy of Sciences in a special museum, by the Society of Anthropology of Paris in a similar museum,<sup>1</sup> and in other places. A. Graham Bell's valuable collection of musician's voices was destroyed by fire. The collection in Paris includes a systematic series of the principal dialects of China. The American collections are mainly of Indian song.

The collection of phonograms of languages and dialects is now being carried out on a large scale in America. Records of Indian song have been collected by FILLMORE, of Indian speech and song by BOAS, RUSSELL and others. A committee appointed last December by the Philological Association (Schmidt-Wartenberg), the Section of Anthropology of the Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci. (Russell) and the Modern Language Assoc. (Scripture) has under consideration the systematic collection and preservation of phonograms of various languages and dialects. Promises of coöperation have been received from various sources. The National Gramophone Corporation of New York has undertaken to make plates of the voices of persons for historical purposes; copies will be deposited in certain specified institutions and will be supplied privately to investigators but will not be sold to the public. As no commercial use of these plates will be made, the arrangement with the committee is a highly favorable and satisfactory one. The

<sup>1</sup> AZOULAV, *Sur la constitution d'une musée phonographique*, Bull. et Mém. de la Soc. d'Anthropol. Paris, 1900 (5) 1222.

same company will prepare plates of any voices, languages or dialects the committee may desire, provided the persons are brought to the laboratory in New York and also provided the actual expense of manufacture is guaranteed. The net cost of making a mould and the first hundred discs is \$50; a subscription for one hundred discs is therefore needed in each case. Some English discs have already been prepared without charge. Under direction of the committee the machine at the Yale Psychological Laboratory will trace off all such plates, prepare the blocks and send prints for study to all desiring them. M. Lioret of Paris has offered to prepare celluloid cylinders of any designated subject not of an unusual character. The Edison phonograph company will make mastercylinders at a small rate and furnish copies as usual. The formation of phonetic libraries of voice and instrumental records at the great universities will probably follow successful action by the committee.

Just what should be recorded on a phonograph on a given occasion will depend on the purpose of the collector. A collection for the study of dialects is not the only one that may be made. Racial psychology, individual psychology, the development of language in prose and verse are all important matters. To cover as many points as possible it is well to have the speaker: 1. make a few conversational remarks concerning such familiar topics as the weather or what he had to eat at breakfast; 2. read a piece of prose; 3. recite from memory a piece of prose; 4. recite a piece of verse; 5. repeat the alphabet (or a series of monosyllables including the typical sounds of his speech); 6. sing a stanza of a national song; 7. sing some separate notes; 8. repeat the syllable *ta, ta ta, . . .* a number of times; 9. repeat the syllable *ta* when the experimenter calls it into the phonograph (the experiment to be made several times); 10. repeat any syllables that the experimenter calls into the phonograph (to be done several times); 11. do the last three things again as quickly as possible. In this way speech and song under various conditions are recorded; the character of the voice is given in 5 and 7, the natural rapidity of repeating voluntary acts in 8, the natural





Boccaccio, in his *Vita di Dante*, makes this statement:

"Dei quali tre libri [cantiche] egli ciascuno distinse per canti e i canti per ritmi, siccome chiaramente si vede; e quello [Dante] in rima volgare compose con tanta arte," etc., etc.

At first glance one would take it that Boccaccio meant two different things by *ritmi* and *rima*. It will be noted, however, that his statement to the word *siccome* is merely an echo of Dante. Mr. Paget Toynbee, in his *Life of Dante* (London, 1900), makes Boccaccio say: "Each of these three books he divided into cantos, and the cantos into stanzas." Mr. James Robinson Smith, in his *Translation of Boccaccio's Vita di Dante*, renders the passage thus:

"The three books he again divided into cantos and the cantos into rhythms (*ritmi*) as may be clearly seen."

Evidently Mr. Smith was somewhat puzzled by the word *ritmi*—more puzzled than Mr. Toynbee.

Miss Katharine Hillard translates Dante thus:

"The first division is this: the whole work is divided into three cantiche; the second, each cantica is divided into cantos; the third, each canto is divided into rhythms."

Mr. Latham renders *rithimos* by "rhythms," and Fraticelli makes *ritmi* do. As for the Italian *ritmo*, see Dictionary of Tommaseo e Bellini, who have thought it worth while to remark anent this usage, "Qui pare intenda Terzine."

Let us now consult Trissino, who, in his translation of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, renders the word *rithmus* in whatever form it may occur by *rima*, *rime*, or an accurate equivalent, in every case except one (I refer to the Oxford Dante, *De V. Elog.*, II, xiii, 5): "In principio hujus capituli (writes Dante) quædam reseranda videntur; unum est stantia sive rithimus, in qua nulla rithimorum habitudo attenditur."

Trissino, whose strange phonetic spelling I have not kept, reads as follows:

"Ma nel principio di questo capitolo ci pare di chiarire alcune cose di esse; de le quali una è che sono alcune stanzie, ne le quali non si guarda a niuna habitudine di rima."

A careful reading of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* will show, I think, that Dante, too, means *rime* in every case except that above quoted

from II, xiii, 5. I believe the word *rithimus*, or any of its forms, is found nowhere except in the *De V. E.* and the epistle to Can Grande.

To return to the latter, it was quite natural for Dante to use this word *rithimos* in the sense of *rime*, or rather of *terze rime*, because Latin (Classical Latin) has no word for rhyme. Dante misused the word *rithimos* as he has misused the word *inventores* and scores of others. It is, furthermore, not true that each canto is divided into "rhythms" for the very good reason that the English word rhythm is incapable of such a meaning. "Rima" (says Fraticelli, in a note to *Inferno* xiii, 48), è dal greco ῥυθμός. The same false etymology was in vogue at the time of Dante, and that we have ourselves erred is conspicuously evident in the word "rhyme."

I will add in conclusion that the passage quoted from Dante's letter to Can Grande is a good instance of the poet's scholastic desire to divide thoughts symmetrically, even when they seem incapable of such division. Comparison of Dante's own definition (*De V. E.*, II, ix),—"Stantiam esse sub certo cantu et habitudine, limitatum carminum et syllabarum compagem,"—with the structure of any canto of the *Divina Commedia* demonstrates, I think, that no canto can be divided into stanzas (stanzie), for the verses (*carmina*) are interlocked continuously in such fashion that each canto may be considered as one long stanza. I hope now to have shown that Dante by *rithimos* means neither stanzas nor "rhythms," but *rime*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Authoritative passages in *De V. E.* (Oxford edition). Rime-scheme of *Inf.* viii, which is the same as in all other cantos of the *Commedia*.

II v 34	a	1
II ix 27 29 31 33	b	2
II xi 5	a	3
II xii 59 67	b	4
II xiii 1 a 7 & 8 16	c	5
18 24 26 35	b	6
37 39 44 47	c	7
52 64 67 84	d	8
86 88 90 99	e	9
	d	10
	e	11
	d	12
	e	13
	f	14
	e	15
	f	16
	g	17
	f	18
	g	19
	etc.	etc.

## COMMENDRY.

In *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*, l. 688 (Hazlitt's *Rem. of Early Pop. Poetry of Engl.*, II.) occurs the mysterious word *commendry*. Readers of the poem will recall that the daughter of the King of 'Hungry' is in love with the Squire, who is one night ambushed and attacked by the treacherous Steward. In the fight the Steward is killed and, after his face has been disfigured, his body is laid before her chamber door. She naturally supposes the body to be that of her lover, and embalms it so as to keep it near her.

Into the chamber she dyd hym bere;  
His bowels soone she dyd out drawe,  
And buryed them in goddes lawe.  
She sere that body with specery,  
With wyrgin waxe and commendry;  
And closed hym in a maser tre,  
And set on hym lockes thre.

(684-690.)

In the corresponding passage of *The Squier* (*Percy Folio MS.*, iii. 266), the word does not appear at all. Moreover, no mention of it is made by Nares, by Halliwell, by Stratmann-Bradley, nor is it found in the *International*, the *Century*, or the *Standard Dictionaries*. But in the *Oxford Dictionary* the word is cited, with a reference to this passage only, and marked *Obs. rare*. No meaning is given. Ritson printed the text in his *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, but he did not include the word in his glossary.

The word seems, however, to be capable of a very simple explanation. The Princess wished to keep the body in aromatic spices, and might, perhaps, naturally enough select *cumin* in a *dry* state. *Cumin* or *cummin* takes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the form *comyn*, and in the sixteenth the form *commen*. The text of the poem in its present shape is a sixteenth century print. We know, furthermore, that *cummin* was very generally used as a spice in Europe in the Middle Ages, and that when employed medicinally it was ground and put into water or wine. Hence, possibly, the mention in this case that it was used *dry*. I cannot find that it was supposed to have special preservative properties, but its odor was probably more agreeable than that of a corpse.

Its cheapness, too, would allow a free use of

it, the price per pound in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries being about two pence, or, at the present value of money, not far from thirty-five or forty cents (Rogers, *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*, i, 631).

Numerous examples of the adjective following the noun occur in the poem,—*lady fre* 16; *notes clere* 61; *forestes thicke* 237; *lady bryght* 426,—to select a few out of many. The use of a word like *dry* in such a situation is somewhat unusual, but it is no worse than the combinations that desperate rhymesters even now are guilty of.

The most serious objection to the proposed explanation appears to be that it is too fatally easy, and smacks too much of folk-etymology. But until some more rational meaning is suggested we may regard 'commendry' as a 'ghost-word,' and provisionally relegate it to the shades.

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## SKELTON'S 'MAGNYFYCENCE' AND CARDINAL WOLSEY.

SKELTON's morality of *Magnyfycence* has received, as will be acknowledged, very slight treatment at the hands of critics; yet it is, according to ten Brink, the most important in our language, if the *Satire of the Three Estates* be excepted. In it Skelton has abandoned the typical morality themes—the course of human life and the struggle of vice and virtue—for an issue more specific. He has chosen to represent the insecurity of state and power, in the person of *Magnyfycence*, and the rivalry of Measure and Fancy (moderation and extravagance), who seek the control of his actions and the direction of his household. This approach to the concrete does not fail to strike the commentator; but what generally has quite escaped notice is the personal reference of this "interlude." Yet it is antecedently more probable, more in accordance with Skelton's literary genius, that he should thus limit abstraction to aid a satirical, a personal allusion, rather than to favor a formal dramatic advance. This supposition is, as we shall see, also borne out by the text.

H. Krumpholz, in the only monograph which exists, so far as I am aware, upon *Magnyfycence*, has expressed this conjecture, and so has ten Brink. But curiously enough, both put forward the idea merely as conjecture, and consider, if indeed a personal allusion be intended, that Henry VIII is aimed at.

It would seem, however, as I shall attempt to show, that this reference is actual and unmistakable, and that not Henry VIII but Cardinal Wolsey is the personage whom Skelton has in view. This will appear upon consideration of the following passages.

1. "Measure is mete for a marchauntes hall,  
But largesse becometh a state ryall.  
.....  
A lorde a negarde, it is a shame,  
But largesse may amende your name."  
*Magnyfycence*, ll. 387, 388, 393, 394.

Now Wolsey's mean extraction is one of the points which Skelton most frequently and bitterly satirizes.<sup>2</sup> No such references could have been made to Henry VIII, not even in connection with his title to the throne, for that, through his mother, was unimpeachable. It is hardly necessary to remark that the word 'ryall' was purely a general meaning here with no necessary reference to a king.

2. The limitation of the vice-virtue contest, confined as it is to the opposition of moderation and prodigality, is appropriately chosen in relation to Wolsey's known passion for pomp and splendor, the extravagant ostentation by which his court came near to rivaling the King's.<sup>3</sup>

3. The overbearing treatment of Measure by *Magnyfycence* (M. ll. 1732-1746) can be paralleled by many allusions to Wolsey's treatment of suppliants.<sup>4</sup>

4. The rage and fury of *Magnyfycence* (M. ll. 1638 f., ll. 1745 f.), drawn as if from life, agree also with similar satirical attacks on the Cardinal for his outbursts of frantic wrath.<sup>5</sup>

From these references, taken from those

<sup>1</sup> H. Krumpholz, *John Skelton und sein Morality play Magnyfycence*. Prossnitz, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> See for example, *Colin Clout*, l. 587; *Speke Parrot*, ll. 480, 500; *Why Come Ye Not To Court*, ll. 619, 620; 490, 491.

<sup>3</sup> *Why Come Ye Not To Court*, l. 398, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Why Come Ye Not To Court*, ll. 188, 595, 618. *Speke Parrot*, l. 501.

<sup>5</sup> *Why Come Ye Not To Court*, ll. 420 f., 323 f., 644 f., 575 f.

satires of Skelton which are known to be directed against Wolsey, it is plain that he attributes similar traits to the sect and the fictitious personage alike. This circumstance, together with the choice of subject, and the definite allusion to a mean extraction, seems to indicate that we have in *Magnyfycence* an unsuspected addition to the material of Skelton's most notable satires.

In addition three considerations suggest that we possess in this play the *earliest* indication of enmity. *Magnyfycence* was certainly written after 1515, for the death of Louis XII, who died in that year, is referred to (ll. 283, 285). There is not much point in a complimentary reference to a dead king unless made while his memory is yet green, so that probably the composition of *Magnyfycence* is not much later. Though not printed until after Skelton's death, it was probably composed with a view to immediate performance, according to custom; for, generally speaking, moralities and interludes were produced, not to be read, but to be performed. Accordingly, *Magnyfycence* would antedate *Colin Clout* (circ. 1519) so far considered the earliest of Skelton's satires which relate in any degree to Wolsey.

The relative moderation of the attack also inclines one to credit the play with an earlier origin. The latter circumstance perhaps helped the writers before mentioned to their supposition that Henry VIII was aimed at. That idea is a little surprising, for in so doing Skelton must have slighted the ties of a long continued patronage, extending back to the previous reign, no less than those which might be supposed to bind him to his former pupil. And had he thus intended, we might expect that he would have been speedily "out of princes' grace," which there is no satisfactory evidence to show.

One more conclusion may be drawn—that *Magnyfycence* stands as an early, if not the earliest, instance of the use of the drama as a means of personal and political attack. John Roo's *Lord Governauce*, acted, according to ten Brink, in 1527 or 1528, is another early example of this usage. In this instance Wolsey suspected the attack and imprisoned those responsible. Possibly, he recollected *Magnyfycence*.



Not mere conjecture, then, but good evidence exists to show that *Magnyfycence* has a satirical and personal motive, and that the victim intended is not Henry VIII but Wolsey, satirized here by Skelton apparently for the first time. It is worth noting, too, that as Wolsey both received the Cardinal's hat, and was appointed to the Chancellorship in 1515, his supremacy in church and state alike practically dates from this year; so Skelton's attack was not (if we accept *Magnyfycence* as the first manifestation) deferred so long as has been supposed upon the ground that the later *Colin Clout* should be so described.

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#### SPANISH LITERATURE.

*Historia de Gil Blas de Santillana por Lesage, traducida por el Padre Isla*, abbreviated and edited with introduction, notes, map and vocabulary, by J. GEDDES, JR., and FREEMAN M. JOSSELYN, JR. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1901.

THE use, in modern language instruction, of texts not originally written in the language to be taught, but translated into it from some other tongue, has frequently been condemned by pedagogical authorities. It has been urged, with some reason, that pupils should be fed only on good literature, should be made familiar from the start with a pure, idiomatic style, and should imbibe through their reading something of the life and spirit of the people whose speech they are trying to acquire. Such texts have, nevertheless, sometimes done admirable service, in the early stages of study, on account of their simplicity of diction and their comparative freedom from rare and perplexing idioms. At the very outset, it is more profitable to the student to master inflectional forms, the ordinary constructions, and the commonest expressions than to meet an overwhelming variety of words and phrases. Now, when a translation offering this advantage is itself a literary masterpiece, and equals in local color any native work, it may surely be accepted without hesitation for use in the class-room. The chief objection to Father Isla's version of

*Gil Blas*, as an elementary Spanish text, has been its length; in spite of this drawback, and the lack of a convenient edition, it has often made its way into school and college, to the satisfaction of teachers and the delight of pupils. The little volume prepared by Professors Geddes and Josselyn contains one hundred and sixty-three pages of narrative, judiciously selected from Books i-iii and vii-ix. We have here, among other things, the episodes of the robbers and their subterranean retreat, Doctor Sangredo, the Archbishop of Granada, the Duke of Lerma, and the interrupted wedding. In several places, where a proper comprehension of the sequence of events seems to demand it, a few lines of English supply the missing connection; the texture of Lesage's tale is, however, generally so loose that the omission of a chapter or a book or two rarely interferes seriously with the understanding of the next adventure. The editors have provided a map of Spain with an indication of the route taken by our hero, a short introduction (dealing with the author, the place of *Gil Blas* in French literature, and the controversy about its origin), copious notes, and a vocabulary. The value of these last features can be determined only by actual use. Some teachers will object to the assignment of so much space, in the notes, to the explanation of rudimentary matters of vocabulary, syntax, and idiom; but as this is a point upon which doctors disagree, it is perhaps wiser not to express a dogmatic opinion.

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#### ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

*Outlines of the History of the English Language.* By T. N. TOLLER, M. A., Professor of English in the Owens College, Manchester. New York, Macmillan Company, 1900. xiv, 284 pp.

PROFESSOR TOLLER's recent book is a not unwelcome addition to the ever-growing series of histories of our language. It gives us a new point of view—that of a lexicographer of Old English—and, oddly enough, this view-point seems peculiarly adapted to revealing the

spirit, rather than the bones, of the language-history, to suggesting the skeleton beneath, while actually showing only the rounded 'outlines.'

The real subject of the book might be stated as 'The English Vocabulary in its relation to the character and the history of the English people;' for, although the forms of the language are by no means entirely neglected, it is the vocabulary which appeals most strongly to the author; and he tends to treat its history from the standpoint of the Foreign Office, rather than from that of the individual speaking Englishman. To quote his preface (p. v.), the author attempts

'to give some idea of the conditions under which language-material was gradually accumulated, was sifted and shaped, before the result was attained which we see in the present speech of England.'

These processes are for him largely conscious processes, to be traced to specific external influences. The 'conditions' involve the entire *Kulturgeschichte* of the race; the 'accumulation' suggests the lexicographer's painful gathering together of words from their various sources—indeed, so strongly is this 'source'-idea entrenched in the author's mind that he can speak (p. 2) of the 'material which is drawn from Old English, Latin and Greek,' as if Old English were still the remote 'Anglo-Saxon,' which, in the dictionaries of fifty years ago, stood for the ultimate in etymology; the 'sifting' is, in Prof. Toller's treatment, largely the work of visible, outward forces; and even the 'shaping' is made, in a very considerable degree, the product of environment, rather than the working out of inborn tendencies. Language as an organism, developing from within in accordance with the great laws which govern all language, has apparently little interest for the author; when he does touch upon this side of his subject, he never fails to be suggestive, but it is laws as explaining phenomena, not phenomena as illustrating laws, which he prefers to present to us. He never forgets that he is writing history—a history, in the most specific sense of the word; and for him history is one thing, science quite another.

To Prof. Toller a word means, in nine cases out of ten, a written word; his book is essen-

tially a history of literary English, of language embalmed, rather than language vocal with life; so far is this true that, except for a few pages on Grimm's Law, introduced for the sake of showing that our language has relatives on the continent of Europe, and four pages (174 ff.) containing a few leading facts of Old English sound-history—just enough to suggest that English 'was shaped out of common Teutonic material'—the book contains no hint of the importance of phonology for an understanding of the phenomena of language. For the early period, the author's account of literary English falls little short of being an account of English literature—in fact, I know no other book in which the close interdependence, the essential unity, of life, literature, and language is so consistently depicted; but it is a little disconcerting to find (p. 170), at the end of twenty pages about the Old English prose-writers, the following words in explanation of their presence:

'A literature that contains so much as is given in the above lists may, taking all the circumstances into account, fairly claim to be spoken of as considerable, and may be expected to afford material from which a knowledge of the language in which it is written can be gained.'

One has wondered all along why all this pleasant reading about Alfred, Ælfric, and the rest; but, if this be the end, the means are certainly a little ponderous; and did the author really suppose his audience to require such extended proof that the Old English language is not a figment of the dictionary-makers?

No one would accuse Prof. Toller's style of belligerency—it presents, for the most part, the extreme of mildness; but it is none the less true that he is ever on the defensive. Though he has built a very substantial structure, he seems to be in constant fear that it will be knocked about his ears, and that any possibility of attack must be deprecated. His preface consists largely of a justification of his subject, a series of proofs that it is worthy of study; and there is hardly a chapter which does not contain, if not an apology for its presence, at least an explanation of its relevancy. This continual self-justification gives the book an air of timorousness which it does not merit, and which inevitably weakens its effectiveness, especially for use in teaching.

In fact, the style in which the book is written is perhaps its greatest fault; though occasionally clear and straightforward, notably in portions of the grammatical chapters, it is almost never strong and incisive, and is for the most part cumbrous, repetitious, and utterly devoid of rhythm, while the sentences are weighted down with a burden of modification which is beyond all propriety. This is carried so far that one leaves the book with a feeling that the author shrinks from a direct statement of fact or opinion; 'may' and 'might' have fairly rained on many of the pages; and statements are frequently so qualified as to be left mere suggestions. As a fair example may be cited a thrice-modified remark in introduction of a list of Old English verbs of Latin origin (p. 92, note 1):

*'Excluding two or three which are connected with the Church the following are nearly the only instances of verbs that are at all freely used.'*

But suggestion, rather than demonstration, seems to have been the author's ideal in his work; and it is perhaps by the presence of a slight haze that the atmosphere is most often brought to our consciousness—though there is a bracing air which is its own best witness. 'Atmosphere' is certainly a characteristic of the book; we are made to feel, by the process of suggestion, the attitude of the people toward their language at each successive stage of its development, and are made conscious of the inter-play of the different tendencies and forces of which the language at any epoch is a resultant. But we so often become impatient with the leisureliness of the author's method, and with the mountains of evidence, be it never so interesting, which he heaps up in the attempt to make his suggestions inevitable. Thus, when ten pages have been given to suggesting the spread of Latin learning in England before the Conquest, and twelve more to suggesting that many Latin words were adopted into Old English, one is a little taken aback at encountering twelve more pages—and very excellent pages—devoted to suggesting that Old English was in fact remarkably free from Latin influence. Or, after an extended discussion of the relations between English and the Celtic dialects, closing with a list of Celtic borrow-

ings made as exhaustive as possible by the inclusion of a 'catch-all paragraph' from Prof. Skeat, one cannot but suffer a little cooling of his enthusiasm when he reads (p. 50),

*'for our purpose the main value (of these lists) does not depend upon their being exact... There is no uncertainty in the conclusion that may be drawn from them, namely, that Celtic has only very slightly at any time influenced the vocabulary of English.'*

If this were all, pray, why print the lists?

When applied to matters of grammar (Chaps. ii and x), the effects of Prof. Toller's suggestive method are often very happy; he follows the ordinary road of grammarians in a reverse direction, and derives Grimm's Law and suggests trifles like the mutation of vowels by a gentle induction, instead of stating them as the bases for rigid deductive processes. Of many linguistic facts—such as this very mutation—he does not even give us the names; he merely leads us to a more or less distinct realization of their existence. But one questions whether the book would not gain in effectiveness if the inductions were a little clearer, the conclusions a little more definitely stated; and wonders if the novice for whose initiation these linguistic chapters are so admirably adapted will be able to read the copious extracts from Old English—of which, however, translations are given in all cases.

Although the last three chapters of the book—that on Middle English, with its well-chosen quotations and its admirable comparative tables in illustration of the progress of the language; that on the Renaissance period, with its discussion of the entrance of the critical spirit among users of English; and the final chapter, which is almost a treatise on modern English prose style, closing with an apt characterization of newspaper fine writing as the Euphuism of to-day—are all excellent, each in its own way, it is the early period of the language which has chiefly claimed the author's attention, and fully two-thirds of the book are devoted to it. Old English is dear to Prof. Toller's heart, and it is pretty to see his zeal in setting forth the good points of the early language, and in defending it from imaginary assaults. He is so proud of its sturdy independence and native color, of its power of



resisting the intrusion of foreign words, of the Latin lore of the early scholars, and of the fact that all their learning could not vitiate their English. He is, indeed, so apprehensive lest the scarcity of Latin words in Old English be taken to imply ignorance that he devotes most of a chapter (v) to showing the extent of Latin learning in early England. He even finds consolation for the blighting effect of the Danish raids in the fact that they at least 'preserved the language from Latin elements' (p. 139).

When he discusses (p. 202), the terms 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Old English' as names for the earliest stage of the language, Prof. Toller is rational, if not very conclusive; but in his employment of them he is distinctly funny. He has evidently determined on the use of 'Old English' in the present volume, but an occasional 'A. S.' has crept in (pp. 36, 37, 38, 51, 226), perhaps from the author's 'Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.' However, he more than makes up for this by his extension of the use of 'Old English' from language to life, from words to men. Thus we have (pp. 2, 22) 'Old Englishmen,' instead of 'Anglo-Saxons;' on page 92, we find the statement, 'Most of the work that language had to do in the old English times had to be done by old English material' (why not 'Old,' rather than 'old'?); and (p. 76) Latin is referred to as 'the language in which were written books that were read or composed by the old English scholars.' Dr. Martineau in his later years might perhaps have been spoken of as an old English scholar; Prof. Toller is certainly an Old English scholar; but Bede? Benedict Biscop?—the appellation is undeniably a novel one.

The treatment of Old English poetry as illustrative of tendencies in the early language is most excellent, even though one be not able to entirely escape the feeling that the author is poaching on the preserves of the historian of our literature; to Prof. Toller language and literature are one, and in the chapter (vii), in which he deals with a feature of the language—the early poetic diction—which is now extinct, he is highly successful, as elsewhere, in interpreting the real spirit of the language of a given period, in showing how truly it reflects the life and thought of the people. His quo-

tations throughout the book are selected with much care and judgment; and they are of sufficient length and interest to be suggestive far beyond the limits of 'pure linguistics.' The use made of these quotations is often novel and ingenious: by extended comparison (pp. 112-120) of passages in the Old English *Andreas* with others from the *Beowulf* and other secular poems, the author illustrates the persistence of native and heathen imagery—the imagery of a race of ruthless fighters on the sea—even in the description of the deeds of a Christian hero in a far Eastern land; further passages from *Beowulf* are placed beside quotations from the Old Saxon *Heliand* to show that this permanence and conservatism of the poetic vocabulary is Germanic, not simply English. Again—though this feature is not wholly original—by the use of italics in two of the Old English prose passages (Chap. ix), the author shows the extent to which we are still served by the vocabulary of our ancestors before the Conquest; the italicized words are those which have since dropped out of the language.

Chapters xi and xii portray the gradual evolution of the modern language out of Old English; the steps of the process are well illustrated by extracts from fifteen important texts, beginning with a late entry in the Peterborough *Chronicle*, and closing with a pamphlet by Sir Thomas More. Each of these extracts is followed by a discussion of the points of development to be observed in its vocabulary and the forms of its words; comparisons are made with both Old and Modern English, and we are thus enabled to feel the currents as they increase and diminish in their flow through these four hundred years of our language. The rise of the French influence and the distinctions between the dialects of Middle English are set clearly before us by the use of tables, for example, that on pp. 230 f., which compares the forms of some fifteen words in the Kentish *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, and Old English. An interesting comparison is that (pp. 264 f.) between Wiclif's and Tyndal's versions of parts of Mark xv; the points of contrast emphasized are two: those resulting from Tyndal's greater freedom from the idiom of his original, and

those which rise from Tyndal's having translated from the Greek, rather than the Latin.

I have spoken of its style as the greatest fault of Prof. Toller's book; but perhaps the utter lack of an index is a greater. There is indeed a table of contents; but it consists only of a reprint of the chapter headings; and though the paragraphs are numbered, there is no means of referring to them, no way—except a marginal summary—of discovering what each contains, or upon what page anything in the book is to be found. One who would seek, for example, a discussion of the verb *to be* would look in vain for any clue to its location. Citations from other authors—which are in the main admirable, especially in the notes to the earlier chapters, where the original Old English or Latin text is always given—are frequently unlocated (as pp. 43, n. 1; 45, top; 53, n. 1; 57, top; 59, n. 1; 128), and, though cross-references are occasionally met with in the text, they are quite as often omitted. In fact, the author seems entirely unconscious of the desirability of making his book easy of reference; he has at least failed to provide any means to that end.

I subjoin notes upon a few further points of detail which seemed to me worthy of remark; the figures refer to pages.

6. The colloquial *heuer* should be added to *heute*, as an example of the pronoun *he* in German.

13. '*Sartor Resartus*, p. 64;' in what edition? This reference may mean something to the author, but it is of little use to the reader.

16. The point of the discussion of 'humour' is lost through a failure to tie up the threads at the end; this is a good example of the author's tendency to dissipate his own effects; he begins excellently, but he does not keep his eye steadily on the *terminus ad quem*; in consequence, that which might just as easily be a victorious capture of a point often deteriorates into a mere interesting ramble.

20. 'The American and the Englishman still for the most part understood one another;' one wonders if Professor Toller has ever been in America, and, if so, whether he found himself so unintelligible as his words would suggest.

31. The 'relation' (of German) 'to the common Teutonic is like that of the latter to Latin;' the implication that 'the common Teutonic' is derived from Latin is unfortunate; a lexicographer should know the tendency of the novice to regard cognates as ancestors, and should have sought to counteract, not to strengthen it. On p. 185, there is, to one who is not on his guard, a similiar implication.

38 (line 2). The parenthesis '(cf. Lat. *lupus*)' belongs after *wolf*.

61 f., §13. Professor Toller here discusses the question of the Jutes and the probable character of their language; from the absence of the ending *-by* in Kentish place-names, he concludes that it cannot have been closely allied to the Scandinavian dialects.

73 ff. This translation from the preface to the *Pastoral Care* closely follows that in Sweet's edition, with a few changes in the direction of literalness; an acknowledgment would have been graceful.

77. Is not Winfrid, the great 'apostle to the Germans,' as worthy of mention here as Wictbert and Wilbrord?

79 ff. This exhaustive list of Old English words derived from Latin is unquestionably of value; but its ten pages seem out of proportion to the lesson drawn from them (pp. 91 f.), that 'the Latin material which made its way into general use was really inconsiderable.' The proper place for this list would be an appendix—perhaps most suitably an appendix to the author's Dictionary.

94, §8. In saying that 'foreign material was most likely to find a place among words connected with religion,' the author apparently forgets that the early monks were missionaries; in introducing Christianity to a strange and uncouth race, men have ever attempted to make its concepts simple, to bring the new religion as close as possible to the lives of the people,<sup>1</sup> and to make it real and tangible to even the rudest hearer. To this end its terminology must be made intelligible and so far as may be self-explanatory; and without doubt one of the things to which both Roman and Celtic missionaries devoted

<sup>1</sup> On these points, cf. Gregory's instructions to Augustine, contained in his letter to Mellitus (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i, xxx), and Aidan's advice in council (*ibid.*, iii, v).

most affectionate care was this very invention of English expressions for religious and ecclesiastical ideas. The case was far different with the Norman clergy in the train of the Conquest; they came to a people already Christian, and no longer requiring—even had the new-comers been disposed for this—that the words of Gospel and Church be thus anxiously adapted to their unaccustomed ears. They came in the pride of a race proved superior by force of arms, bent on establishing a splendid Norman hierarchy to correspond to William's monarchy; and to this end what better means than a whole new ecclesiastical vocabulary—one now calculated, not to win the hearts of the people, to bring them near to their pastors, but rather to emphasize the distance between shepherd and flock, to show the superiority of the rich and cultured Norman clergy, with their speech drawn from Rome, to the native priests who used the every-day language of the common folk?

94 ff. The tables here, comparing Old with Modern English ecclesiastical and technical terms, are admirably suggestive of the great contrast, made prominent throughout the book, between the eclecticism of the Modern English vocabulary and the purity and conservatism of that of Old English.

155. Transpose, in the sentence beginning at line 5, 'original composition' and 'translation.'

175 f. A suggestion of the author's attitude toward the phonetic aspect of language may be gained from the fact that in giving lists of the vowels in Old English and in 'common Teutonic,' he furnishes no hint as to their pronunciation.

182 ff. The sections on declension, while full of material and of suggestion, would require much amplification by the teacher if they were to furnish anything more than a conviction of the two characteristic facts in the history of English inflection: 'continuousness of change and constancy of direction.'

204. While Professor Toller often suggests, he nowhere explicitly mentions the genius of the Northmen for self-assimilation in the matter of language; both Danes in England and Normans in France speedily relinquished the language which they brought for that

which they found. The Northmen of the Viking age, with no home but the sea, no written literature, no stable institutions, nothing, in short, about which language should crystallize, seem to have felt that language belonged to the soil, and that settlement in a country involved adoption of its tongue; the spirit of adventure, the desire to turn their conquests to the best possible account, would also contribute to make them learn the language of the conquered. They learned it ill enough, doubtless—Norman-French was bad French, the English of the Danelagh bad English;—but the race-genius demanded that they learn it. Cnut and William were alike in wishing to be *English* Kings; Cnut's laws were written in English, he ruled his empire from his English capital, and his song about the monks of Ely is a part of English literature; while, according to Ordericus Vitalis, William made at least an effort to learn English at the age of forty-three. But the Normans coming to England were on a far different footing from the Danes; they were no longer Vikings, but had been French dukes for a century and a half—they possessed already a settled home, fixed institutions, stable wealth, and the conservatism which these bring; the 'Chanson de Roland' was sung before the troops on the day of Hastings, and the Normans felt themselves the bearers of a higher civilization, a superior culture, evidenced in no wise more clearly than by the language of which they were so proud; yet, even so, it was English that triumphed in the end—the Northman took the language of the soil.

205. Professor Toller fails to point out the reasons why Gaul adopted the language of Rome, while Britain did not. Southern civilization had been present in Gaul since the foundation of the Greek Massilia in the sixth century B. C.; and for six hundred years Gaul was one of the most important provinces of the Roman Republic and Empire, and was more intimately connected with Roman life than any other northern province. It adjoined Italy, and the currents of Roman trade and culture flowed freely throughout its extent; it was the home of a great number of colonists, its life centered on the Tiber. Britain, on the other hand, was the last-acquired province of



the Empire, the most remote and inhospitable, and the only one, excepting Dacia, from which the Roman troops and officials were voluntarily withdrawn; moreover, the island was never wholly subjugated. When the Anglo-Saxons came, it was to an independent Celtic land which had been under the temporary rule of a people from far over seas, whose influence had been largely external—something like the influence of England in Egypt to-day; the Britons had been cast off by the Romans, and thrown upon their own native resources. The Franks, on the other hand, came to a land Celtic indeed, but still an integral part of the Empire of which it had been a province for six centuries. Is it strange that they found a people more Latinized than did the Anglo-Saxons?

219. *Dēad, hēold*; it is gratifying to note that Professor Toller now places the macron over the first vowel of these diphthongs, instead of over the second, as in his Dictionary.

266, note 1. Professor Toller has misunderstood the author: More, in saying 'No answereth the question framed by the affirmative,' is not stating a principle of correct usage, but is describing Tyndal's error in using *No* as answer to such a question.

There are slight misprints on pp. 41 (7th line from foot), where *influence* should be *inference*; 135, n. 2, *Prænda-lög* for *prænda-lög*; 177, *gamfto* for *samfto*; and 188, *patris* for *fratris*.

Throughout the book, there has been forced upon my mind a comparison with Professor Emerson's *History of the English Language*, a book which I have used with my classes; it has seemed to me that a suggestion of this might not be without use to teachers.

Professor Toller views language primarily in relation to men—to their life and their writings; to Professor Emerson, language is an independent organism and is considered largely apart from those who employ it, except so far as their vocal apparatus is concerned. In the one case the written, in the other the spoken word is the basis of study. To Professor Emerson, the forms of words make the chief appeal; to Professor Toller, their meanings and their employment.

Professor Toller states facts about our lan-

guage, tells *that* things are thus and so; Professor Emerson tells *why* they are so, states principles. His book may be described as an introduction to linguistic science by way of the English language—its attitude is that traditionally known as German; Professor Toller's book is English in method, and is more nearly a chronicle. Professor Emerson, to whom the language is interesting chiefly as illustrative of the great laws of language, naturally treats his subject topically, gives, as it were, vertical sections of the language-history, displaying one phenomenon at a time. To Professor Toller, on the other hand, language is primarily a reflection of national life and history; and he treats it chronologically, giving horizontal sections which exhibit the state of the whole language at suggestive points of time.

Each method has its advantages: Professor Toller's book is probably of more popular interest, and has more 'atmosphere;' but Professor Emerson's history will make the student stronger, will help him to a broader, firmer grasp of language as a whole, will teach him that it is alive, and give him a keen interest in the speech of those about him—the speech of those who are making language-history, here and now; while from Professor Toller's book he will be more likely to get the impression that our language has been made, that its history is a thing of the past, and that it is interesting chiefly in the pages of a Shakespeare, a Chaucer, or an Alfred.

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#### FRENCH LITERATURE.

*Premières Lectures en prose et en vers . . .*, selected by JULES LAZARE, London: Hachette & Company, 1900. 12mo. 103 + 26 pp.

UNDER the above title M. Lazare has included some thirty-five storiottes and half as many lyrics. A glance at the list of authors, where we find, among others, A. Karr, G. Paris, Diderot, Richépin, Voltaire, Stendhal, Victor Hugo, P. Arène and Lemaitre, shows that the collector has gathered good things regardless of period or plan, yet the collection, intended for beginners, cannot fail to interest discrim-

inating readers, so well has the selection been made.

The seventeen lyric pieces begin with "Confiance" by de Chambrier, continue with selections from Hugo, Lamartine, Prudhomme, Richepin and others, and close, appropriately enough, with a skit by "Stop"—whoever that may be—for there is no preface, and there are not any notes. Aside from the obvious need of a word, if only two dates, about the less-known writers represented, this rather novel omission is not seriously felt. Still, one cannot help wondering whether the couplet (p. 67)

Quand j'ai bu du vin clair et  
Tout tourne, tout tourne au cabaret,

is the parrot's own, as its somewhat irregular gait would imply, or whether it is the product of a poet's pen. And certainly the student would want to know more about the use of *pour* in "vous servez les pommes de terre pour une sauce blanche" (p. 87).

The "full" vocabulary does not quite justify its name: some words and expressions are omitted purposely, and, no doubt, properly; for example, memento, p. 13; corolles, p. 95; others have been overlooked for example, toque, p. 25; poularde, p. 66. The omission of "lieutenant," first mate (p. 54), is perhaps misleading, and "tunique" (p. 57) is a uniform (not an ordinary) coat.

The book is evidently intended for the natural-methodists as each prose piece is followed by a half dozen questions in French on its subject matter.

Typographically it is almost perfect—I have noticed the omission only of a period (p. 26) and an apostrophe (p. 78).

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#### FRENCH PHONETICS.

*Historical Primer of French Phonetics and Inflection*, by MARGARET S. BRITTAI. Oxford, 1900, pp. xii-108.

IN a short introduction to Miss Brittain's *Primer*, Mr. Paget Toynbee says that the book is designed to be an introduction to his Anglicized edition of Brachet's *Historical Grammar*,<sup>1</sup> and he intimates further that these two works, in conjunction with his own *Specimens*

1. Brachet and Toynbee: *A Historical Grammar of the French Language*, Clarendon Press.

of Old French,<sup>2</sup> form a fairly complete historical course in the French language. Miss Brittain's *Introductory Primer* is a beautifully clean piece of work; the author has succeeded in condensing into a very small compass all that part of French historical grammar which is usually studied by advanced classes as an introduction to a more general study of Romance philology; namely, the phonology of the vowels and consonants and the morphology of the various inflections of the Old French language. In accomplishing this by no means easy task, Miss Brittain is not a whit behind her predecessors in clearness and accuracy, while the whole subject is relieved of much unnecessary material, and is put into such convenient and handy form as to be available for constant ready reference.

In such a condensation, however, there are always certain points whose omission is questionable, and the writer would call attention to the following cases where a little additional information seems necessary to avoid continual reference to the more complete historical grammars. The numbers refer to the paragraphs in Miss Brittain's *Primer*.

In the 'Introduction' (p. 1) no mention is made of 'Low Latin' as distinguished from 'Classical' and 'Vulgar Latin,' yet it is referred to in § 14.—13. The definition usually accepted for a vowel 'in position' or 'checked' is that such a vowel is 'one followed in the same syllable by a consonant;' thus a vowel in a monosyllable which ends in a consonant is considered as 'in position' even though its development is that of a 'free' vowel. Miss Brittain's definition would classify the vowels in such monosyllables as 'free.'—13-2 and 17. The group *s+l* should be included as not checking a preceding vowel, according to the example of *poile* or *poêle* < *poisle* < *peisle* < *pesle* < *PENSILEM*.—24. This is called 'Foerster's Law.'—25 note. *Frigidum* > *froid* is usually explained by the analogy of *rigidum*.—27 note. *Loup* is rather an etymological derivation from *louve* than dialectal; cf. the *Dictionnaire Général*.—33. For a fairly satisfactory explanation of *focum*, *jocum*, *locum*, and *cocum* cf. Baker: *French Historical Grammar*, London 1899, § 109.—35. It seems more logical to consider that free, tonic, open *o* before a nasal consonant diphthongized into *ue*, as in *BONUM*

2 Clarendon Press.

> *buen*, *HOMO* > *uem*, and that *bon*, *on*, etc., are atonic developments.—36 note. The theory supported by Suchier,<sup>3</sup> Uschakoff<sup>4</sup> and Herzog<sup>5</sup> of the uniform nasalization of the tonic vowels in the Old French period has received sufficient acceptance as to be at least worthy of mention.—52. It might be well to explain that the final syllable of a proparoxyton remained as mute *e*, when the penult fell late, because of the secondary accent which it bore.—63-2. In accordance with the system of indicating the pronunciation used elsewhere *pan*, *tan*, *fan*, should read *pā*, *tā*, *fā*.—69. In the table on p. 39, and in § 7, p. 11, one finds the term 'guttural,' while elsewhere the preferable term 'palatal' is made use of.—95 note. Another case where the sixteenth century substitution of *s* for *r* has affected the modern orthography is *besicles* for *bericles*; cf. the *Dictionnaire Général*.—125. Meyer-Lübke's theory of the development of *-arius* > *-airo* > *-ero* > *-ier* seems to me preferable to that advanced by Cohn<sup>6</sup> and adopted by Miss Brittain, for words in which *-arius* is preceded by *i* would be reduced rather to *-arius* than to *-iarns* because of the great numerical supremacy of words in *-arius*.—133-134. Latin *c* and *n* final fall when the word so ending is in atonic position, otherwise they remain, cf. *non* > *nen* tonic, and *ne* atonic.—161. On the origin of the use of *mon*, etc., before feminines beginning with a vowel, cf. Herzog, ZRP., xx, pp. 84-85.—174. A more logical theory for the loss of the *b* from the ending of the imperfect indicative is that of proportional analogy to the future, proposed by Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, Oxford, 1894, p. 493. The only misprint I have noticed is *e* for *l* in § 55, 2.

At the end of the *Primer* are careful and complete indices of the subject matter and of the French words discussed. The material which Miss Brittain presents in her work should enable any student of ordinary ability to read Old French intelligently, and to understand the grammatical foundations of the language.

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<sup>3</sup> Suchier: *Allfranz'sische Grammatik*, Halle, 1893, §§ 35-49.

<sup>4</sup> Uschakoff: *Zur Frage von den nasalirten Vokalen*, Helsingfors, 1897.

<sup>5</sup> Herzog: ZRP, xxii, pp. 536-542.

<sup>6</sup> G. Cohn: *Die Suffixwandlungen im Vulgärlatein und im vorliterarischen Französisch*, Halle, 1891, pp. 274-291.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### NORTHANGER ABBEY.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In the sixth chapter of Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, where her fair heroines are warmly praising the merits of Mrs. Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho*, the following conversation takes place:—

"... oh! I am delighted with the book! I should like to spend my whole life in reading it, I assure you; if it had not been to meet you, I would not have come away from it for all the world."

"Dear creature! how much I am obliged to you; and when you have finished *Udolpho*, we will read the Italian together; and I have made out a list of ten or twelve more of the same kind for you."

"Have you, indeed! How glad I am! What are they all?"

"I will read you their names directly; here they are, in my pocket book. 'Castle of Wolfenbach,' 'Clermont,' 'Mysterious Warnings,' 'Necromancer of the Black Forest,' 'Midnight Bell,' 'Orphan of the Rhine,' and 'Horrid Mysteries.' Those will last us some time."

"Yes; pretty well; but are they all horrid? Are you sure they are all horrid?"

"Yes, quite sure; for a particular friend of mine, a Miss Andrews, a sweet girl, one of the sweetest creatures in the world, has read every one of them."

It might be supposed that Miss Austen, in her evident satire of the *Udolpho* class of fiction, invented the above suggestive titles of contemporary romances. As a matter of fact, they were all actual romances which appeared at London between 1793-1798. In the latter year *Northanger Abbey* was written, though not prepared for press until 1803 and not published until 1818. The following references to various magazines and reviews of the day will afford further information concerning the romances cited:—

*The Castle of Wolfenbach; a German Story.* By Mrs. Parsons. 2 vols. 1793.

See *Critical Review*, x, (n. s.) pp. 49-52.

*Clermont. A Tale.* By Regina Maria Roche. 4 vols. 1798.

See *Critical Review*, xxiv, (n. s.) p. 356.

*Mysterious Warnings.* By Mrs. Parsons. 4 vols. 1795.

See *Analytical Review*, xxiii, p. 659.

*The Necromancer: or the Tale of the Black Forest.* Founded on Facts. Translated from the German of Lawrence Flammenberg by Peter Teuthold. 2 vols. 1794.

See *Crit. Rev.*, xi, (n. s.) p. 469;



also *Monthly Rev.*, xvi, (n. s.) pp. 465-466.  
*The Midnight Bell, a German Story, founded on Incidents in Real Life.* 3 vols. 1798.

See *British Critic*, xii, p. 304; *Monthly Mirror*, vi, pp. 34-35; *Monthly Rev.*, xxvi, (n. s.), p. 340; and *Analyt. Rev.*, xxvii, p. 644.

*The Orphan of the Rhine.* A Romance. By Mrs. Sleath. 4 vols. 1798.

See *Anti-Jacobin Rev.*, i, p. 603; and *Crit. Rev.*, xxvii, (n. s.), p. 356.

*Horrid Mysteries*, from the German of von Grosse. By P. Will. 4 vols. 1796.

See *Analyt. Rev.*, xxv, p. 678.

A glance over the lists of New Publications, printed by several of the reviews about the end of the eighteenth century, will verify the fact that Jane Austen could have made her satirical array of titles even more ridiculous without drawing upon the imagination. Part of her generation must have been content to feast upon such alluring literary fare as *Santa Maria, or the Fatal Pregnancy*, and *The Bride's Embrace on the Grave, or the Midnight Wedding in the Church of Mariengarten*.

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#### COGNATES OF GERMAN *dreck*.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—For German *dreck* Kluge adduces only one authenticated cognate from the other Germanic dialects, namely, ON. *prekkr*. If I am not mistaken, there is a well attested cognate extant also in Anglo-Saxon. In *Bas. Hexam.* vii we read . . . *hy beoð tolysed e ungeleaffullice swa swa forrotad ðreax on hyra unðeawum*. Again we have in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* xxxv, 150 . . . *se folcops awende wundortlice to prexe*. A third instance of the word is found in Wright-Wülker 376,13 *caries preahs*. This should, I think, dispose of Prof. Skeat's doubt as to the propriety of his rendering 'rotteness' in the passage just quoted from Ælfric. The word is absent from Sweet's *A.-S. Dictionary*.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

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#### TWO SUGGESTIONS FROM BOCCACCIO'S *VITA DI DANTE*.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—If Milton has (*P. R.* 4. 240) 'Athens, the eye of Greece,' Boccaccio (*Vita di Dante*, §7) speaks of 'Atene, la quale fu l'uno

degli occhi di Grecia;' both are no doubt derived from Justin (5. 8. 4): 'ex duobus Græciæ oculis,' when he is referring to Athens and Sparta. Other parallels in Latin (to say nothing of the Greek) are: Cic., *Nat. Deor.* 3. 38. 91; *Ad Attic.* 16. 6. 2; *De Lege Manil.* (*De Imp. Cn. Pomp.*) 5. 11; *Catull.* 31. 1.

There is a remote suggestion of Shak., *Sonn.* 107. 13, 14; Milton, *Ep. on Shak.*, in the following from the *Vita*, §6, where Boccaccio is speaking of Giovanni del Virgilio's Epitaph on Dante: 'Pensando le presenti cose per me scritte, come che sepoltura non siene corporale, ma sieno, siccome quella sarebbe stata, perpetue conservatrici della colui memoria.'

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#### BRIEF MENTION.

Prof. Freeman M. Josselyn, Jr., of the Romance Department of Boston University, who last year was made a Doctor of the University of Paris, with highest honors (mention très-honorable) being the second American to receive the new degree, established as a French equivalent for the German Ph. D., has just been awarded a prize of five hundred francs for his *Étude sur la Phonétique Italienne* by the joint Commission of the five Academies composing the Institut de France. These prizes, originally established by the distinguished French scholar and writer Volney, have been given for the most remarkable linguistic works, and especially for treatises on comparative grammar, such as those of Max Müller, Miklosich and Bopp.

This *Étude sur la Phonétique Italienne* (Paris, Albert Fontemoing) consists of one hundred and seventy-five large octavo pages, with two hundred and thirty-two photographic reproductions of vowel and consonant tests made upon an aluminum cylinder revolving by clock work, and is a distinct contribution to the subject of experimental phonetics in general, and in particular as applied to Italian. The tongue positions are most accurately shown by means of a large number of cuts reproducing experiments made with the artificial palate, along the same lines as the well-known ones made by Prof. Grandgent in his 'German and English Sounds.' With the exception of the Abbé Rousselot's work in 'La Parole' and 'Les Principes de Phonétique Expérimentale,' no such thorough analysis of experimental methods has as yet been published.